NĀ PŌHAKU OLA KAPAEMĀHŪ A KAPUNI: PERFORMING FOR STONES AT TUPUNA CROSSINGS IN HAWAIʻI

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ABSTRACT

Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni is a Kanaka Maoli cultural monument in the heart of the world famous Waikīkī, on the island of Oʻahu. While this site plays a vital role in the preservation of indigenous knowledge systems and navigational histories, these stones have not always been visible and tell a dynamic story through how they have been valued and interacted with differently across time. By weaving a genealogy of this culture keystone place, this thesis reveals the complex and complicated "life" of this site through its the legendary, historical, and contemporary histories. In looking at its legendary traditions within a cultural and regional comparative of stone sites, this site is shown to have multidimensional meanings encoding epistemological and geographical knowledges and connects to other sacred sites in Hawaiʻi and the wider Pacific. Yet, looking at the newspaper archives and how these stones were physically displaced in the 20th century, Nā Pōhaku Ola also reveals histories of a contested and changing landscape and how various social and historical processes shaped discourses regarding their value. These sacred stones document a story of colonial forces but also a story of revitalization and the perdurance of Hawaiian history in the unlikeliest of places. Finally, this thesis investigates the contemporary meanings of this site by looking beyond the archive to intercultural protocol moments. This focus on performed histories and site engagement reveals how Nā Pōhaku Ola's various meanings are performed and remembered in the present. Further, it shows that this cultural site is mediating the space between Maoli and Mā'ohi worlds by revealing longstanding mobilities and the building of contemporary solidarities. Thus, this thesis aims to show that Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū is dynamic and a living piece of Hawaiian history.

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PREFACE

My first name, Teoratuuaarii, which means “endless life,” remains a constant reminder of my family and the oceanic distances we have crossed. I was born on the island of Mo’orea, my piko (umbilical cord) is planted in Māhina (Venus Point, Tahiti). I grew up most of my life with a single mom and younger sister in Hawai‘i and California within the Tahitian diaspora. My mother always shared fond memories of her Raiātean grandfather, Reynold Tiamatahi Rey, and displaying his guitar in our living room and playing Tahitian music was her way of making our house feel distinctive.

My paternal grandmother also had an immense presence in my life, shaping my love for the Pacific through the treasures she brought in her suitcases and through her passions for the stories of old. She was the daughter of a Tahitian musician, Moeterauri “Bimbo” Tetua, who grew up in the royal courts of Bora Bora, and she spent all of her professional and personal life devoted to genealogical research. I have come to realize that my relationship with my grandmother has long been one of apprenticeship. Time with grandma was filled with stories about chiefs, stones, and sacred islands. It meant visiting stones and trying to absorb the landscapes’ secrets. She reads the dusty genealogy maps, she reads the rocks, she reads the legends in mountain ranges, and our close relationship is cultivated through these stories.

Through these experiences, I hold a sincere appreciation for indigenous research that takes place within family libraries. These libraries are oral and physical, overpopulating my hard drive with thousands of pages of genealogical charts and images of pōhaku (stones) and mountain faces. In the “a-ha” moments of genealogical research, I’ve also experienced research as something that is practiced and the difference between looking, knowledge, and

understanding. With my grandmother's repeated training, I have come to know genealogies as not a list of names but as dense stories that encode both moments of empowerment and trauma.

My interest and perspectives towards Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni are organized by the way she has taught me to view cross-cultural exchanges and sacred places as awe-inspiring examples of the giants of our ancestral past. So, while there are many special moments with my grandmother that have heightened my awareness to the deep connections between Tahiti and Hawai‘i, there is one particular instance that seeded my interest in stones, cultural protocol, and memorialized history:

When I was 14 years old, and my family had just returned to Hawai‘i, my grandmother flew in from Tahiti with a large group for a special Pan-Polynesian celebration with dance groups from Tahiti, the Cook Islands, and the Marquesas. That morning, the large congregation we formed made its way to an enclosure on the corner block of The Honolulu Zoo. Closely following the body language of the kumu, we were ushered in around the memorial in silence and shared honi. As a teenager, experiencing this protocol moment for the first time, I was engrossed by the atmosphere the moment the chanters pierced the air with their voices. Observing and mirroring my stoic grandmother, I looked out beyond the enclosure to the noisy beach that at that moment seemed so distant. It was like there was a protective dome enclosing this special space and the very breeze seemed part of the interaction as speakers recalled our ancestors and the ali‘i. There, I remember realizing suddenly that this performance was just for us, not for the passerby who seemed to be a universe apart outside the gate. At 14 years old, I wondered if the audience was the mound of stones we faced and perhaps something else inside each of us.

This enclosure, I later learned, was called Hali‘a Aloha Burial Mound and was built in 2002 to house hundreds of iwi (bones) which had been disturbed during Waikīkī’s development in recent years (White 2002). To some, it is a painful memory embodying the displacement and dispossession experienced by Native Hawaiians in their homelands. This experience of that day never left me, and my grandmother never ceases to engage with sacred spaces. I have come to realize that my sensitivity to what sacred places and protocols are for is born out of my grandmother’s work and the simple fact that the knowledge she carries, in her corporeal memory, is the greatest loss I see between her generation and mine.

While my Tahitian connections are real and concrete, my position in the diaspora and my personal migration stories mean my perspectives are influenced by fragmented and multiple positionalities (Hereniko 1995). These complementary, and sometimes conflicting, selves organize my work and passions in the Pacific (1995). As Ty Tengan points out, the dichotomy between “insider” and “outsider” is no longer a reasonable divide in scholarship as islander identities are increasingly made of all sorts of insider-and-outsider-ness (2005).[1] Instead, acknowledgment of these conflicting stances encourages greater reflexivity and a critical look at how modern Pacific Islanders navigate their multiple worlds. On the one hand, my Tahitian self is a mo’otua (granddaughter) trying to hold on to drifting stories. On the other hand, my upbringing and education in the United States mean that I am necessarily influenced by various western assumptions. My worldview is also importantly shaped by living on the island of O‘ahu

[1] “As a critical ‘Ōiwi anthropologist, I now strive to critique those institutional and discursive structures that work to undermine and extinguish those sources of *mana* (spiritual power and efficacy) and identity that ‘Ōiwi draw upon to empower and define ourselves. I also try to tell the *mo‘olelo* (narrative accounts) of my people in ways that shed light upon our ability to traverse the borders of insider/outsider, indigenous/foreign, colonised/decolonised, global/local and modern/traditional” (Tengan 2005, 8)

for 15 years. As a graduate from the Center of Pacific Islands Studies at UH Mānoa, I am also organized by the paradigms and thinkers of Pacific Islands Studies who work to enlarge Oceania.

It is vital for me to state that I am not Hawaiian, and this thesis does not aim to make light of that. This work does not intend to be an all-encompassing history of this sacred site for that is neither possible nor desirable. I see this thesis as a lei of appreciation that draws from the strengths of my own positionalities at the edge of Hawaiian and Tahitian diasporas. Continued work by ʻŌiwi scholars will produce different depths of perspective that are necessary although they may not all be permitted here. Knowledge in the Pacific is often hierarchical, and I respect that some knowledge is not meant for me as a non-ʻŌiwi person. As important as it is to highlight that which is shared between Kanaka Maoli and Māʼohi persons regarding culture, language, history, and epistemologies, it is vital to celebrate rather than reduce differences. While some may emphasize defining Tahiti as the origin of Hawaiian people (an obsession found in many earlier works), this perspective rests on a fixed view of culture and a narrow view of cultural change. Instead, I like to emphasize these places as being weaved together over time, separating and being rebound symbolically through traversed landscapes and seascapes, family ties, and story.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

On June 17th of 2017, the Native Hawaiian traditional vessel, Hōkūleʻa, and its companion vaʻa (canoes) were poised to make history by completing its global circumnavigation that had begun three years before. The excitement of the feat drew thousands of local spectators to Ala Moana Beach Park to watch the beloved vaʻa pull into port along with its sister ships Hikianalia and the Tahitian Fa'afā'ite. For many, this return would mean many things including the culmination of decades of work set into motion by the traditional canoes' original voyage in 1976. It represented the fruits of labor in reclaiming cultural knowledge and spaces that had been undertaken in many valleys and shores of the islands of Hawaiʻi since then. Indeed, Hōkūleʻa's message in its return pushed not only for historical dignity but a healthy future in which indigeneity was a momentive force for good, both at home and in the world at large. However, that was not the only moment of historical re-making and binding of Pacific worlds that happened in Hawaiʻi nei that week.

Nearby, on the bustling shore of Kūhiō Beach, international tourists swarm year-round. At a chaotic corner of the boardwalk, where the barrier of ocean-front hotels end, resides a stone platform from which four large basalt stones protrude, enclosed by an iron gate. On June 14th, 2017, Kanaka Maoli caretakers and Mā'ohi guests, including navigators from the Tahitian va'a Fa'afā'ite, met on Waikīkī shore at the feet of a cultural monument known as Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni.[2] Amid the overdeveloped landscape, these cultural practitioners

[2] The spelling of this site's name appears in slight variation with attention to article placement. Some sources use "Nā Pōhaku Ola o Kapaemāhū a me Kapuni" or "Nā Pōhaku Ola o Kapaemāhū a Kapuni." For consistency purposes, this thesis uses "Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni" or the capitalized short-hand of "Nā Pōhaku Ola" or "Nā Pōhaku."

exchanged cultural protocol in recognition of the stones' history and their reticulations of their distant, yet intertwined, worlds.

These four stones, known as Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni ("the living stones" or "stones of life" of Kapaemāhū), contain the living spirits of four ancient healers that came from "Moa'ulanuiākea"[3] hundreds of years ago.[4] Although it is but one of many culturally potent sites of the Hawaiian Islands, this wahi pana (sacred or storied place) is deeply significant to Kanaka practitioners and historians of Waikīkī. In the care and protection of their current home, one might be surprised to know that the place of these stones has not always been so stable despite their size and weight in indigenous history. Although the site's existence is generally well-known today and numerous publications over recent decades have recounted its significances, this site has never received a dedicated and extended history accumulating its historical origins, contemporary life, and its struggle not to be forgotten all the while in-between.

This thesis aims to be a genealogy of stones and, in doing so, weaves together three points of consideration. Firstly, all across Oceania the ancestors worked in stone and left behind for us astounding structures on the Pacific landscape. Some of their creations were astonishing, and some were modest. In this post-cultural renewal moment, in which there is increased re-engagement with protocol and with place, we have a profound opportunity to re-evaluate our relationship with some of these sacred places and stone works that have particular qualities. This story is about rethinking how we have related to this object over time and how we might relate to it now. Significant gaps in public knowledge are present regarding the representation and valuing

[3] Spelling as it appears in Oliveira (2014, 14).
[4] Note that the diacritical markers represented in this paper reflect the conventions of today's Hawaiian language institutes and the Fare Vāna'a (The Tahitian Language Academy). The Hawaiian 'okina (') and Tahitian 'eta (') will be represented as such. Where diacritical markers are not used in quotations, they will appear as original. Indigenous words will not appear in italics.

of these stones over the eras that Waikīkī saw its most dramatic changes. An examination of how these stones have been valued over passing generations show that Nā Pōhaku has always been a contested space and historically contingent—reflecting anxieties, social forces, and ideologies of the time. These ever-changing meanings are recorded in the historical archive in the form of written histories, newspaper publications, poetry, public protest, and in the way the stones have been moved within the cultural landscape of Waikīkī. In other words, when the stones are made to speak, they also tell a story of Hawai‘i’s people and their ongoing negotiation with their present and past.

Second, this particular site is of monumental size and exists in one of the most visible and accessible places on the island of O‘ahu. Yet, its historical representations are defined by a few key sources, and characterized as a legacy of obscurity and as being “lost in time.” This thesis takes a closer look at this site to historicize these texts and to reveal the incompleteness and subjectivity of history.

Finally, and connectedly to how this site is valued, is a story about the longstanding connections between Kahiki and Hawai‘i. Kahiki and Hawai‘i have a deeply rooted history—one that extends from the mythical into a variety of relationships in the 20th century to a post-renaissance moment which has a variety of implications for how people make sense of their identities and senses of place. And yet, despite these longstanding interactions and cross mobilities between the historical and contemporary Maoli and Mā’ohi worlds, this relationship is shadowy and not very tacked down. There are objects on the landscape that make visible this relationship, and Nā Pōhaku Ola is one of them. Even further, while “Tahiti” is often pointed to in the stones’ ancient significances, contemporary currents are a new and compelling unwritten chapter of these stones and one testament to how their social life continues to unfold in the 21st

century. As this thesis will show, this cultural site is much more than a spot along a tourist's historical trail for it carries a number of valuable lessons about history, memory, the sacredness of place, and a building of solidarity through moments of encounter.

A New History of Stones

In combining a look at Nā Pōhaku Ola's historical nature, value, and its cross-cultural legacy, I aim to reveal the "lives" of these stones and, indeed, to pursue a new kind of history. To say that stones are alive is not a metaphor. In many indigenous cultures, stones are recognized as epistemologically alive and, as critical theorist Elizabeth Povinelli points out, the ontological division between Life and non-life is increasingly impossible to hold up (2016). Therefore, by acknowledging the lives of these stones, I attempt a different way of doing history that signals to how stones and humans are intimately connected through how we tell their stories, and they tell ours.

As many scholars have alerted us, history is an important part of the business of decolonization (Hau'ofa 2008; Trask 1993; Wendt 1993). When we tell our own histories, we acknowledge, revalue, and assert ourselves and the struggles of past generations. We gain perspective and pride, and an awareness of the politics involved in defining our identities in our own words. As this thesis argues, this site is an indigenous library of history that needs to be further explored on its own terms.

This thesis also aims to confront how legacies of colonization not only severed Pacific Islanders from their own cultures and languages but severed them from their historical neighbors and relations. Many postcolonial scholars critique that western academia often approaches Pacific worlds within the framework of the nation-state or cultural group. Even when efforts are made to celebrate indigenous epistemologies, research in the Pacific can reinforce colonial

boundaries and ethnic differences rather than build a deeper understanding of the region as a whole. In other words, to emphasize inter- and extra-regional connections is inherently decolonial. “To live up to the Pacific, our work must reflect a commitment to making comparisons within and across the region” (Teaiwa 2010, 211).

Outside voices too have overwhelmingly represented the fold between Hawai‘i and Tahiti’s histories. This tendency has contributed to a narrative of obscurity and disconnection where these islands remain separated by the ocean, colonialism, and forgotten memories. But remarkable stones have long been present at the most epic meeting grounds between Pacific places, whether below the feet of ancestors or towering in front of them on the marae. Stones then are a medium from which the vā (the space between) between Pacific worlds comes into view (Staley 2017).

Nā Pōhaku Ola is also a great reminder that reclaiming the past is also about reclaiming a future. The indigenous heavy work put into motion during the 1960 and 1970s inspired countless community-driven programs and academic interest. Many indigenous communities, in the Pacific and elsewhere, have taken up the work of countering the damage that their peoples have experienced as a direct result of centuries of formal and informal colonization. These communities’ determination and resiliency is evidenced in mediums of expression such as political activism, language revitalization, literature, epistemology, pedagogy, and traditional arts. One of the ways that we see Islanders finding agency is in reaching beyond colonial boundaries and constructs of history to create solidarity. As we look at Hōkūle‘a’s 2014-2017 circumnavigation, it becomes clear that Pacific futures are still being articulated and part of the ways this is happening is in cross-cultural exchanges of history and place. History is also converted to contemporary relationships here in the space of Nā Pōhaku Ola. By investigating

Nā Pōhaku Ola a Kapaemāhū a Kapuni, this thesis then documents its present significances as well as contributes to the project of reclaiming histories of Oceania.

Charting the Skies: Conceptual Contexts & Interdisciplinary Approaches to Place

As this study approaches a significant cultural place, this thesis seeks to engage with several interdisciplinary fields that contribute to our understanding of their making and meanings. Significant here are discussions regarding cultural landscapes and the complex dialectic between people and the landscapes to which they adapt, alter, and attach meaning. As a Hawaiian site, it is also necessary to bring into view how Kanaka Maoli scholars have theorized "place" through a Maoli worldview as a wahi pana. Additionally, perspectives of cultural materialism frame discussions of how objects come to inhabit meaning and particular attachments through social processes. This work also engages with linguistic anthropology which approaches "places" as both cultural and linguistic resources. Monumental places intersect with the study of history and memory as they play a role in marking and memorializing the past through lived experiences. Finally, as this thesis also takes a look at this cultural monument as a site in which cultural protocols come into view, this thesis will also engage with performance theory and discussions of cultural politics.

Cultural Landscape

One approach to Nā Pōhaku Ola is that it represents a significant feature, or "cultural keystone place," within an ʻŌiwi cultural landscape. "Cultural landscapes," first coined by geographer Otto Schlüter, refers to the complex linkages between human populations and the natural world they alter, exploit and adapt their cultures and technologies to. "The cultural landscape is the geographic area in the final meaning" (Sauer 1925, 340). Cultural landscapes are not limited to where human activity has left a visible mark and include geographical features,

like mountains and sky, that have been named and incorporated into a collective cultural consciousness. Researchers never cease to be astonished by the cultural information found in the Pacific's 'natural' spaces, such as upland forests (Mawyer 2015) and "seascapes" (Feinberg et al. 2003). The lens of cultural landscape reveals that Waikīkī is a dramatically meaningful, layered, and contested place for, on the one hand, it is rooted in Kanaka histories and yet overwritten by other uses and understandings.[5]

Lepofsky and others highlight the importance of other more subtle features. Within all cultural landscapes, there are other sites which can be termed "cultural keystone places" (CKPs) (Lepofsky et al. 2017). CKPs "are iconic for these groups and have become symbols of the connections between the past and the future, and between people and places" (448). These symbolic landmarks and sometimes-invisible features, like Nā Pōhaku, should not be overlooked for they operate as "archives" of histories and are deeply significant for a "specific cultural group's identity and well-being" (449). Looking at Nā Pōhaku Ola as a CKP reveals the subtle but vital works that single landscape features can do in activating different experiences of place that may be dormant or less visible.

Wahi Pana

While Nā Pōhaku is a CKP, it is better understood foremost as a wahi pana. Kanaka Maoli scholars are advanced in their analysis and deployment of the interconnectivities between place, language, culture, identity, and history. To approach these interdisciplinary considerations from a Hawaiian worldview, scholars increasingly use the culturally appropriate term, wahi, more specifically wahi pana (sacred, legendary, "celebrated," or storied place) (Kanahele 1994,

[5] Also see Van Tilburg et al. (2017) for further resources on Native Hawaiian Cultural Landscapes (NHCL).

26; Pagliaro 1997). Kanaka geographer Carlos Andrade argues that place-based investigations are one of the most viable methodologies for exploring Hawai‘i’s densely layered and subtle histories. “Like traveling in a time machine, a study of places and their names can be one of the best methods available for looking at our world through the eyes of the ancestors” (2008, 3). As Kanahele poignantly puts it:

> The key to understanding place, or wahi in Hawaiian, lies in its primal definition. It is not simply a particular locality or a spot of located space. “Place” is defined by located experiences. Whether shared by people, animals, trees or spirits - all places are locations of experiences. That is why places evoke in all of us feelings, memories, images (Kanahele 1991, 2).

Katrina-Ann Oliveira, in *Ancestral Places: Understanding Kanaka Geographies*, alerts us to the importance of ‘āina in the Hawaiian worldview (2014). Some of Hawai‘i’s most noteworthy oral histories known as mele ko‘ihonua (cosmological genealogies) tell the legends of creation. These stories express the genealogical links and reciprocal responsibilities between land, akua (gods), and people (1). Because of this, land also has genealogies. These genealogies are the mo‘olelo of the historic events, family events, place names, poetry and songs that describe and bring to life the features of the landscape. Oliveira calls these diverse place-making practices “performance cartographies” (65). Renee Pualani Louis’ work further exemplifies the diversity and breadth of Kanaka performance geographies through how place-based knowledge is transmitted through performances of navigation, verbal arts composition, and dance (2017). While ‘Ōiwi scholar Manulani Meyer has explicitly contributed to understandings of Kanaka Maoli epistemologies and pedagogy broadly, she also clearly defines the role of the natural environment in Hawaiian learning and the “physical” sense (2001, 130).

While I have reviewed several ‘Ōiwi scholars of geography, it is important to note that political theorists, educators, poets, and historians also utilize wahi pana as a unit of investigation and methodological approach (Bacchilega 2007; ho‘omanawanui 2017; Kanahele 1999; Osorio

2010). Therefore, the literature on "wahi pana" not only allows this project to engage with a place-based and culturally appropriate paradigm to cultural landscapes, but also allows this work to converse with these influential indigenous scholars. Recognition of Nā Pōhaku as a wahi pana, and a significant feature of the cultural landscape, raises attention to the ways that it encodes culturally rich stories and epistemologies and becomes a place for enacting indigenous ways of knowing and being in the world.

Material Culture

A close view of Nā Pōhaku includes acknowledgment of it as not just a place but as a "historical object." A common idea expressed about the proper treatment of wahi pana is mālama—that they need to be cared for. This expresses a particular focus on the "lives" of cultural objects which also is a concern in theories of material culture. Material objects or cultural commodities might be said to hold no inherent value but instead acquire value through their social interactions. The meaning and function of objects are maintained through the acts of exchange between people and by the ideologies they hold. Therefore, looking at how society treats objects makes visible cultural information and social forces over time. As Nicholas Thomas describes, objects are thus "entangled" with social ideologies which are nuanced and historically contingent (1991). An object then has a "social life" through these processes of reuse and recontextualization, and this is even more true in colonial contexts where cultural material has been revalued and negotiated across multiple cultural systems at different times (29). Objects can also express and embody individual and collective identities in innumerable ways as they signal particular orientations of the past to the present (25). Thus, in orienting Nā Pōhaku as a "historical object" as well, we call attention to both aspects of continuity and change in the way

that this site's value and significances have been articulated by different people for different purposes over time.

Language and Culture

Nā Pōhaku is not only a culturally significant object and place but also a "cultural linguistic resource." If objects receive value through their social exchange, then the value of "place" is maintained and transformed through the exchange of language. David Harrison characterizes language as a "self-organizing" system which we acquire throughout our lives to move about our social worlds, and to interface with others and our environments (2007, 212). "Although languages certainly contain abstract structures, they evolve and exist to convey information within a specific cultural matrix, and that function permeates and influences every level of language" (205). Because language requires such specialized study, it is frequently treated separately from the study of material objects or cultural resources. However, language and culture are increasingly understood as behaving like two sides of a coin. Ben Blount, and other language acquisition and socialization researchers, have articulated that the process in which we acquire language and the process through which we acquire sociocultural knowledge are one and the same (1994, 503). Whether as a child or as an adult, we receive our cultural knowledge through talk shared with others and it is in these moments that we acquire values, ideologies, and beliefs that orient us in the world and connect us to a group or a culture. "Becoming a competent member is mostly accomplished through the exchange of language and learning its functions, social distribution, and various interpretations in and across socially defined contexts" (Ochs and Schieffelin 1982). That is to say, that although we come to possess language as cultural knowledge, language is something that flourishes beyond us and

encompasses us. The paradigm of linguistic anthropology helps us characterize language and culture in these two interrelated ways.

Researchers have shown that there is an infinite number of ways that languages can contain and transmit culturally specific knowledge (Harrison 2007; Duranti 1992). The most apparent example of how language behaves like a cultural library is in the naming of place and geographical features. “Speech transforms nature into a human place” (Harrison 2007, 685) and names in themselves maintain historical and cultural perspectives about the world through every day experiences (Cablitz 2008, 224). “All landscapes, by definition incorporate the worldview of their creator/inhabitors…” (Campbell 2002, 165). This cultural-linguistic connection is undeniable as language loss can lead to critical losses in cultural knowledge. “Cultural change often is directly linked with the loss of linguistic styles, genres, and varieties” (Dobrin and Handman 2009, 645). When place names are not transmitted over generations, the cultural importances of those places may likewise be forgotten. Thus, as cultural places and objects, like Nā Pōhaku, cannot be completely disentangled from the socio-linguistic processes that keep them alive, this thesis encourages special attention to the dialectic relationship between the physical maintenance and visibility of cultural artifacts and to the role of everyday discourse and the language of archives in recording their collective meanings over time.

History and Memory of Place

Nā Pōhaku Ola, as a historical object and as a monument, is entangled with discussions on how things and places come to represent past events, people, and ideas. In other words, discourses surrounding Nā Pōhaku are intimately involved in the production of both ‘history’ and ‘memory.’ Scholarly perspectives on history and memory show that these two phenomena are distinct from each other but complexly interrelated.

History is predominantly understood as the practice of writing history or as a representation of the past. Of particular interest are historians such as Greg Dening, Chris Ballard and David Hanlon that have applied principles of New Historicism in their writing on Pacific pasts (1994; 2014; 2003). Contrary to more orthodox approaches to history, Dening presents that writing history is always an interpretive and performative act. 'History' is not about something: it is something" (1986, 46). As a means of untangling Pacific multifaceted pasts, historians such as Dening and Ballard have applied the term 'historicities' as a means of talking about this temporality of collectively-held histories. "Historicities promote not just counter-histories or histories of resistance but, much more profoundly, histories of equivalence that unsettle the notion of a "neutral" history, and decenter professional, modernist history and the potentially dangerous positioning of its practitioners as the ultimate arbiters of historical truth for the Pacific" (Ballard 2014, 112). These historians reveal clearly how history as a field has done the Pacific an injustice by furthering the process by which western interpretations dominate place-based or indigenous perspectives on history (Hanlon 2017).

Just as cultures have different ways of retelling history and presenting history over time, these different ideologies influence how people understand and interpret cultural landscapes. As Emily Donaldson argues, a communities' "perceptions of the past influence one indigenous group's interactions with, and uses of, the land" (2016, 1). Orienting history as something that is practiced reminds us that all memories are part of a social-consciousness and reinterpreted with every generation. Owing to that Nā Pōhaku rests on a politically charged landscape that has experienced immense changes in the past few hundred years, the literature on 'historicities' will lend this project a critical eye on how historical accounts are never politically neutral and connect to temporal, social discourses, including that of identity.

In comparing history and memory, Bruno Saura states that "l'histoire est la reconstruction toujours problématique et incomplète de ce qui n'est plus. La mémoire est un phénomène toujours actuel, un lien vécu au présent éternel..." (2015, 34).[6] Theorists of memory and rhetoric studies point out that memory, in comparison to history, is an emotionally charged, social project involving various levels of personal, communal, and collective experiences. Collective or public memory is of particular interest in relation to place and the discourses of the past. "Rather than representing a fully developed chronicle of the social group's past, public memory embraces events, people, objects, and places that it deems worthy of preservation, based on some kind of emotional attachment" (Maurantonio 2014, 7). This is far from a passive process as objects, events, peoples, and places are complexly part of the process of making and constructing memory. This thesis engages with two domains of memory studies, that of "memory places" or memorials, and that of journalism. As Nicole Maurantonio explains:

> "Memory places" are often purposefully constructed to speak to communities in particularly crafted ways. "Memory places" guide communities toward particular interpretations of the past, often limiting the possibility for alternate readings. However, as studies have shown, efforts to create consensus through place have hardly been seamless, generating controversies surrounding commemorative form and narrative as well as questions regarding "appropriate" uses of the past (2014, 47).

Journalistic material also plays a role in the shaping or memory by the fact of its circulation and that it connects people through readerships. Viewing Nā Pōhaku as a "memory place" and as a subject of collective discourse reminds that ideologies about its meaning are not monolithic but socially dynamic. In the space of this cultural site, collective memories of place are simultaneously articulated and contested.

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[6] "*History is the always problematic and incomplete reconstruction of what is no more. Memory is a phenomenon that is still current; a link lived in the eternal present...*" Translated by me.

Cultural Protocol: A "performance cartography"

This thesis also illustrates that Nā Pōhaku Ola is a site of "cultural practice." While cultural practice might refer to a specific type of cultural performance, linguistic anthropologists have recognized that speech acts of any kind may be constituted as "cultural practice" (Duranti 1997, 3). Cultural practice leads us to examine language as something that we "do" and speech acts as "social events." Thus, developments in performance studies since the 1990s have furthered scholarly understanding of a language as cultural "practice" or as "performances" of culture (Carlson 2013). Performance conveys a dual-sense of speech events as an "artistic action" and "artistic event" (Bauman 1974, 290). As Robbins puts it, "the performative approach is founded on the linguistic observation that certain utterances, ones that scholars classify as speech acts, do not primarily describe the world or inform people about it but rather do something within it" (Robbins 2001). This quality of language is found in informal every day talk as well as formalized speech such as rituals. While we perform our social identities from the knowledge we acquire, we must not discount people's ability to do creative and innovative things with the language they acquire, turning language acts into stages for human agency and avenues for social change. By emphasizing the agency and individuality of speakers, we can view speakers as verbal artists that tactfully wield and change the world through engagement (Watson-Gegeo 1986).

In most cases, cultural protocol is a very broad term for a great number of different cultural defined ways of doing things, and varies between events, speech acts, and contexts of place. In the case of this study, cultural protocol refers to a formal etiquette sometimes used and may be considered a formal speech performance that acknowledges a particular place or meeting of people. Such performances, which often display indigenous languages, are commonly done

between indigenous groups throughout the world and especially in the Pacific in moments of meeting or other various purposes.

Anthropology has long made cultural "protocols" (otherwise termed "verbal arts," "ritual," or "ceremony") an object of study and have acknowledged that all cultures have their own genres of "formal" or "heightened" performance acts (Bauman 1974). Protocol, like all verbal art forms, encodes cultural knowledge and is simultaneously the embodiment of that knowledge. However, Pacific scholars have also expanded our understanding of the potency of performative forms in culture. Performances of protocol form a nexus of meaning: encoding relationships to place, language, historicities, epistemologies, and relationships between people present and in the past. This dynamism is best described by Poia Rewi in his work on Māori whaikōrero (Māori oratory):

> What makes whaikōrero more than merely a theatrical speech is the origin and function of the various components, the rites associated with the selection and qualification of its exponents, and its delivery…. perhaps others will become more aware of cultural practices that Indigenous peoples currently perform and appreciate the value of these in retaining history, explaining cultural systems, and an alternative form of indigenous education and research (2006, 157).

Rewi hints here that the encoded value of cultural performances moves far beyond the translatable texts to the embodied epistemologies found in the fingertips of the dancer or the gestures of the orator. Houston Wood points out that these hard to distill qualities, which he terms "non-interpretive practices," are critical components of culture, but western academia continues to struggle to find any real meaningful engagement with them (2003). "Non-interpretive practices invigorate language, moʻolelo, and interpretations. When the latter are separated from material practice, the cultural repertoire is dangerously weakened" (Wood 2006, 48). It is no surprise that performance and practice have been methodological focuses in much

Pacific scholarship, beginning with Vilsoni Hereniko who was the first to make evident the region's diversity of verbal arts and oratory traditions (1995).

Robert Bauman is a key source for thinking on how to apply theories of performance to this genre of speech and furthered our understanding how they are not only a display of cultural convention but also affecting a sense of groupness and transformation. First, all verbal arts (like all instances of performance) are a display of skill, and the perceived quality of that performance is culturally and historically contextualized. Because of this, the actor is bound to the audience and has a responsibility to deliver a cultural salient spectacle (1974, 293). This tension with convention relays on the "indexical" quality of speech acts for an actor commands the audience as long as he delivers effectively (Robbins 2001, 594). By use of the canon, performance can then have an obligatory and persuasive effect on viewers.

As this thesis will show, Nā Pōhaku is not just a memorial but a profoundly cultural place that, in particular instances, becomes the site of cultural expression. Cultural protocol, or ritual, is a "performance cartography" central to our story for it is one strategy used by Kanaka Maoli to engage with Nā Pōhaku in the present. It is also through ritual engagement that Maoli and Mā'ohi persons, between 1997 and 2017, have mapped their engagements with each other and the crossing of shared tupuna.

Cultural Politics

In the context of the 1970s which saw new interest in the reclamation of indigenous histories and sacred spaces, cultural protocols were one important indigenous library that needed re-exploring and rebuilding (Kajihiro 2009). For that reason, revitalization attempts in rituals and ceremonies attracted the attention of anthropologists who, unfortunately, did not always know how to be supportive (Jolly 1992; Keesing 1989; Linnekin 1991; Trask 1991). One of the

challenges in doing complex and personal identity work such as this is that practitioners and teachers must come to terms with the level of disconnection of knowledge and make use of the resources they have. Knowledge of protocol or Hawaiian religion was kept safe in some families, but the earliest written sources are mostly composed of the problematic representations by early western scholars (Smith 1950; O'Brien 2006). Because of that, debates on the problematic terms of "authenticity" and "traditional" have left painful scars between some indigenous activists and the field of anthropology.

This thesis follows the stance found in Albert Wendt's "Towards a New Oceania" which resists a fixed view of islander identities and culture.

> No culture is ever static and can be preserved (a favorite word with our colonizers and romantic elite brethren) like a stuffed gorilla in a museum. There is no state of cultural purity (or perfect state of cultural goodness) from which there is decline: usage determines authenticity… Our quest should not be for a revival of our past cultures but for the creation of new cultures which are free of the taint of colonialism and based firmly on our own pasts. The quest should be for a new Oceania (1993, 76).

In rejecting such confining notions of tradition and engaging with culture as something always in the making, we can learn about and appreciate the creative choices real people make in reconciling their multifaceted identities and finding relevance to carry their culture(s) forward while still connecting to their pasts. While this site does present an opportunity for a close ethnographic analysis or linguistic study of protocol exchange, this thesis will not be undertaking that work here. This choice comes out of recognition that the stories behind cultural protocols involve significant negotiations over time between sometimes competing community voices and the recognition that outsider critiques of those processes are at times inappropriate and unwarranted. For the scope of this work, I will focus rather on the 'eventedness' of cultural protocol and these events as 'history in practice' to highlight the value of those moments and what they foster.

Mobilities: "Kahiki" and Hawai'i

A lesser known aspect of Nā Pōhaku Ola is how it can be viewed as a site that marks mobilities between Kahiki and Hawai'i. In this thesis, as it turns to shine light onto this site between Maoli and Mā'ohi worlds, seeks to converse with the literature pertaining to how those connections have been previously investigate and represented.

Since the first contact moments with Captain James Cook's crew, who noted the language similarities between the islands of Tahiti and Hawaii, the 'deep time' connections between these people has been of fascination to insiders and outsiders. As Ben Finney points out, western scholars had long made it their prerogative to speculate and play the leading voices on theories of Pacific migration (1997). Unfortunately, and only up until recently, these voices were treated with more weight than locally-based indigenous voices. As a result, the academic world and other outside representations have played a role in mediating the relationships between the histories of Kanaka Maoli and Mā'ohi persons (Cook 2018). While the classic works of historians like Samuel Kamakau, David Malo and Teuira Henry were foundational in revealing ancient connections between these island places through the language of place and legends (1992; [1903] 2006; 1928), this cross-cultural bond remains characterized in terms of "disconnection," "myth," and "forgottenness." It has long been accepted that interisland travel likely ceased hundreds of years before the 1770s. However, the knowledge of long-distance navigation must not have been as forgotten as we might think for it was the Tahitian navigator Tupaia who shared the map with Cook that paved his exploration successes and later revealed the world of *Owhyee* to the West (Henry 1928 in Casey 2016, 15).[7]

[7] See also Druett (2011), Jolly (2007), and Smith (2009).

As Hau'ofa alerts us, "nineteenth-century imperialism erected boundaries that led to the contraction of Oceania, transforming a once boundless world into the Pacific Island states and territories that we know today" (Hau'ofa 1994, 155). Like many places in the Pacific, this characterization of disconnection only continued, and memories of long-distance navigation further eroded with formal colonization in the 19th century (Finney 1999, 2)—at least from a certain view. Recent Pacific scholars have been increasingly successful in highlighting alternative moments in the written record. The late Pacific historian Tracey Banivanua-Mar highlights that during the mid-1800s indigenous political leaders in Hawai'i, Tahiti, Tonga, and Fiji became "demonstrably and meaningfully interconnected" (2016, 66), and further, everyday Pacific Islanders found mobility through western industries as laborers, missionaries, travelers, and diplomats, including between Hawai'i and French Polynesia (2016; Kame'eleihiwa 1992).

For Terava Casey, these early movements are examples of how Mā'ohi influences were integrated "into the framework of Kanaka Maoli awareness during a critical time in Hawai'i's history" (2016, 22). In his recent work *Return to Kahiki*, Kealani Cook also draws attention to overlooked moments of interisland mobility and identity fluidity found in the late 1800s (2018). In his explorations of the Hawaiian-Tahitian John Tamatoa Baker's travel writings, we see the extent to which Pacific Islanders' social networks were already entangled. Baker's published accounts of finding historical commonality, from Tahiti, Aotearoa and the Cook Islands, empowers Pacific history for we see how his Kanaka readers were making sense of Hawai'i's place in the world within the context of the region's richness, and beyond the paradigms of the West (162).

The world Mā'ohi and the world Maoli also share a long history of externalized and internalized change, and colonialism is a shared legacy that brings then together while also

keeping them apart. In other words, Tahiti and Hawai‘i’s colonization history is shared because it enforces the disconnection between them—an empty ocean where navigators used to be. While these interpersonal relationships were being cultivated over a hundred years ago, Cook importantly demonstrates that Hawaiians’ perceptions and relationships with other Pacific Island communities was framed by personally held beliefs about their own indigenous past in relation to the West (224). As two heavily mythologized international destinations, many Pacific scholarly giants have shown how western notions of natives and islands are reproduced in scholarly and popular discourses and how these prevailing tropes continue to order outsiders and insiders perceptions of the region (Jolly 2007). Today, perceptions of past and future organize individual and collective perceptions of ourselves, others, and the worth of sacred spaces.

For Hawai‘i and the islands of French Polynesia, colonially enforced disconnection is not just an issue of nationality and mobility but of linguistics as well. Scholars of French Polynesia often lament that these Anglophone and Francophone worlds are doubly colonized by their lack of literary and academic engagement (Casey 2016, 2). For this reason, works that search for continuity and an emphasis on intrapersonal exchange are trailblazing. In her own research, Casey attempted to do so by uncovering mobilities of the Tahitian diaspora in Hawai‘i through the realm of dance centered festivals. Her methodological focus aims to challenge the orthodox narrative and reveal the long-standing presence of Mā’ohi bodies in Hawai‘i’s communities. Despite remaining borders that separate and distort these connections, Casey shows connections remain intact through informal networks of cultural exchange (2016).

Hawai‘i and French Polynesia share too a historical period of cultural revival which touched down in many Pacific places following the 1960s (Banivanua-Mar 2016; Kanahele 1982; Smith 1999). This “renaissance” period was marked by a new conviction towards

indigenous histories and knowledge as well as new political activism (Osorio 2014). It was characterized by a new consciousness towards cultural identity as shown in the revival in traditional arts, language, the emergence of indigenous literatures, and various movements of political activism. However, Banivanua-Mar shows that the 1970s also saw "new possibilities out of long routes of solidarity" (2016, 19). This period of reclamation was not so much a new phenomenon as it was an accumulation of previous generations' determinations to build avenues for dissenting colonialism and creating solidarity with other indigenous or ethnic struggles. The intersection between these political and cultural movements is no better found than in the landing of the Hōkūleʻa in Tahiti in 1976. This period of cultural revival has left a lasting imprint on these island worlds as well as their relationship to each other.

"Tahiti" and "Hawaiʻi," in all their genealogical richness and imagined romance, have a historical entanglement hardly capable of being forced to the page. "Tahiti" and Hawaiʻi share the ocean and deep histories with all Moana-based peoples. At the same time, Hawaiʻi and Tahiti each have a unique and acknowledged linked past that rests on mythical, historical, cultural, diasporic and contemporary dimensions. Further, colonization's legacy has eroded these connections and created the impetus for efforts to re-braid.

These four stones of Kapaemāhū represent not only a formative moment in Maoli cultural history but also memorializes one of the many, not-well-understood instances of exchange and migration from the islands sometimes called "Kahiki." Therefore, these pōhaku are a touchstone that connects one important legendary and distant moment of encounter to a story of how the relationship between these communities are shaped today. This thesis aims to contribute to the archive of this place and show that its dramatic history offers a grounded moment to better understand the articulations of Tahiti-Hawaiʻi connections, both deep and contemporary.

Summary

As shown above, this investigation of Nā Pōhaku Ola engages with a number of disciplines to give a more nuanced look at the living qualities of this cultural site. Sites such as this might be approached as a wahi pana, or as cultural keystone place, for the ways in which they embody cultural knowledges such as stories, histories, and worldviews. It is also a linguistic cultural resource in how it is storied and shared through cultural linguistic practices. As a historical object, this site is place where historical processes and social ideologies come to bear. As a memory place, it is where past and present are negotiated in everyday experience and it is a location for cultural practice and performed engagement with the past. It might also be a site of cultural politics unfolding and, further, it is a site of mobilities as it tells distant and contemporary stories of intercultural engagement. In attempting to better understand in all the ways that people engage with sacred sites, this thesis consider that Nā Pōhaku Ola is all of those things.

Methodologies & S/Pacific Approaches [8]

> *It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations (Smith 1999, 1).*

Although the ideas of academia and research, in general, are connotated with scientific objectivity and validity, the real truth is that for indigenous peoples, research has historically

[8] This title is inspired by the admirable Teresia Teaiwa and her use of critical theory in Pacific Islands Studies scholarship). In her formidable work "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," postcolonial theory allows Teaiwa to investigate how imperial language and imageries were used to paint the Bikini islanders and their island as suitable for such violence as nuclear testing (1994).

been a tool of violence (Smith 1999). In many ways, early exercises of researching Pacific peoples rolled out the carpet for centuries of colonial enterprises with the classification, domination, subjugation, acculturation, and erasure of native peoples and their histories (Smith 1999; Said 1978; Harley 1988). This history of research will forever lay heavy on researchers because of the harms of the past, but also because of the stories that are begging to be told right.

Pacific scholarly giants have dedicated immense energies to re-envisioning the nature of scholarship in the Pacific. This has included the development of indigenous methodologies which reconfigure the role of indigenous worldviews throughout the research process in defining the researcher's role and analysis (Smith 1999; Tengan 2005). In my engagement with this wahi pana, I aim to take an interdisciplinary approach that privileges indigenous epistemologies, respects multiplicities, and also engages with critical theory. In doing so, I will exercise two interlocking indigenous methodology paradigms: The Kakala Framework, fashioned from the metaphor of lei-making, and Genealogies, modeled on the braided ʻaha (cord).

The Kakala Framework

This thesis aims to utilize an adapted model of The Kakala Framework, originally designed by Tongan scholar and poet Konai Helu Thaman (1997). Founded on the Tongan metaphor of stringing garlands and fragrant flowers, Thaman's original framework has developed into a six-part process through collaborations with ʻAna Taufeʻulungaki, Seuʻula Johansson Fua, and Linita Manuʻatu (Staley 2017, 22). The first phase, *Teu*, which means to prepare, encompasses the conceptual planning of research practice in which the researcher formulates a research question and designs the composition and purpose of the lei (Johansson-Fua 2014, 53). *Toli*, meaning "to pick a flower, or choose an object" (2014, 53) encourages interdisciplinary and mixed methods to engage with culturally appropriate knowledge that might

otherwise have been marginalized. Johansson-Fua refers to *Tui* (the work of "stringing a garland") as the analysis stage where data undergoes a process of arrangement, adjustment and negotiation (54). This stage emphasizes research as a practice, recurrent with moments of reflexivity that return to community goals and needs. *Luva*, which means "a gift from the heart" signals the symbolic gesture of practicing kakala. Luva is the stage of reporting and dissemination, and reflects the attention given to community empowerment found in Pacific scholarship (Bennett et al. 2013; Hudson et al. 2010). The final stages, *malie* and *mafana,* focus on final evaluation as a collaborative process involving community or audience, and the researcher (Staley 2017, 23).

This multi-staged research model is both process and practice focused (Wood 2003; 2006). Its ethical considerations emphasize the importance of conducting research that is relevant to and for Pacific communities,[9] invites meaningful engagement, and highlights accountability, reflexivity, and multiplicity (Bennett et al. 2013, 105). These practices aim to acknowledge the legacy of colonial research and reinforce that indigenous knowledge belongs first to the cultural library of the people it is about.[10]

Although this research model was designed specific to Tongan values and sense of community, I argue that its application is appropriate for this study.[11] Within the oral history of the Nā Pōhaku, the lei also plays a special role. Its fondly recounted that "whenever Princess Likelike and her daughter Princess Kaʻiulani went swimming in the ocean, they said prayers at

[9] See Terence Wesley-Smith's empowerment paradigm (1995).
[10] See discussions on "indigenous intellectual property rights" and whakapapa (Barclay 2005; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Hudson et al. 2010).
[11] "As for the shared concept of *talanoa* throughout the Pacific, *kakala* is *lei* in Hawaii, *hei* in the Cook Islands and *salusalu* in Fiji. In most Pacific cultures, there is a special mythology and etiquette associated with *kakala*" (Vaioleti 2016, 27).

the pōhaku, upon which they left flower lei" (Chan and Feeser 2006, 81). Today, fresh and dried lei hang on the iron gate encircling the four stones as an impermanent and tangible sign of loving engagement. I aim to construct my own research on Nā Pōhaku Ola as a personal act of appreciation, not a declaration of fact, which seeks to celebrate my own unique historical position in this site's story.

In the metaphor of collecting flower and ferns, the Kakala Framework also opens the door for new woven patterns of multi-disciplinary methods (Wood 2003). Its flexibility reflects Thaman's view of Pacific scholarship as a decolonizing force aimed at merging indigenous and applicable western methodologies to reach new "universal forms of scholarship" (Said 1978; Thaman 2003, 3).

> In decolonizing Pacific studies, I suggest that we also need to go beyond the politics of society into the politics of individual consciousness, for worldviews are not only cultural and social abstractions but also the embodiment of our sense of self in the world. It is the way we think and our capacity for wisdom that ultimately produce the world we live in now and shape the world of the future (13).

Thus, this methodology of lei-making provides a protocol for approaching Pacific researching in an ethical manner and allowing the emergences of multiple epistemologies from multiple worlds, as well as engagement with critical theories.

Space for Critical Theories

Post-colonial theory lends to this project a critical eye towards the power dynamics involved in the writing and representation of indigenous peoples and their histories (Said 1978). As in other places, Pacific peoples and landscapes have been subject to colonial ideologies and representations in ways that have suited outside interests. These imaginaries are produced abroad but are consumed and reinforced both locally and globally. Remembering that knowledge of the "Orient" was productive, postcolonial theory invites a critical perspective on academia's ability

to reproduce harmful representations through their language and to be critical of previous accounts of other cultures. Because of this tight relationship between power and knowledge, contesting such inescapable images are a fruitful and necessary ground for dissent. It is no coincidence that Pacific giants, like Epeli Hau'ofa, Albert Wendt, and others, intently turned their attention to issues of cultural representation. Said's invitation to search out "universal forms of scholarship" (1978) sets the stage for indigenizing or decolonizing methods that aim to create "place-based" perspectives and create space outside the indexical and intertextual hegemony of colonial discourses (Byrd 2011).

New historicism also informs this work in how it looks at literary or performed works for their "intertextuality." In other words, all cultural productions are a part of the world they are about. "Historical periods are treated as power struggles that leave their imprint on all the artistic production of their time" (Sim 2001, 137). In this view, even representations of history become a practice of rendering the past meaningful to the present and are never neutral or separate from their own historical temporalities. As I approach Nā Pōhaku Ola, I remember that every generation relates and represents the past differently.

Genealogy as Metaphor and Methodology

> *Moʻo is the Hawaiian word for succession and continuity. Moʻo are also ancient reptilian beings, revered as ancestral gods and guardians of Hawaiian fishponds. It's no coincidence that the word for genealogy is moʻokūʻauhau, the word for grandchild is moʻopuna, and the word for story is moʻolelo. Moʻo is what they share. Family lineage is biological and spiritual succession. Stories, and the knowledge they contain, survive because of ʻōlelo, because of talking and speaking, and through expression and practice, from one generation on to the next. Succession. Continuity. Purpose. Meaning. (Souza and Meyer 2017)*

In conjunction with the Kakala Framework, I apply "genealogy," moʻokūʻauhau, or ʾaufaufēti'i, as a methodology for engaging with both Maoli and Mā'ohi histories. As in many indigenous cultures, and fiercely so in many Pacific places, genealogies represent a wealth of

knowledge and can be a foundational component of identity formation. In both Maoli and Mā'ohi worldviews, genealogies physically bind these worlds together in intellectual, mythical and biological ways.

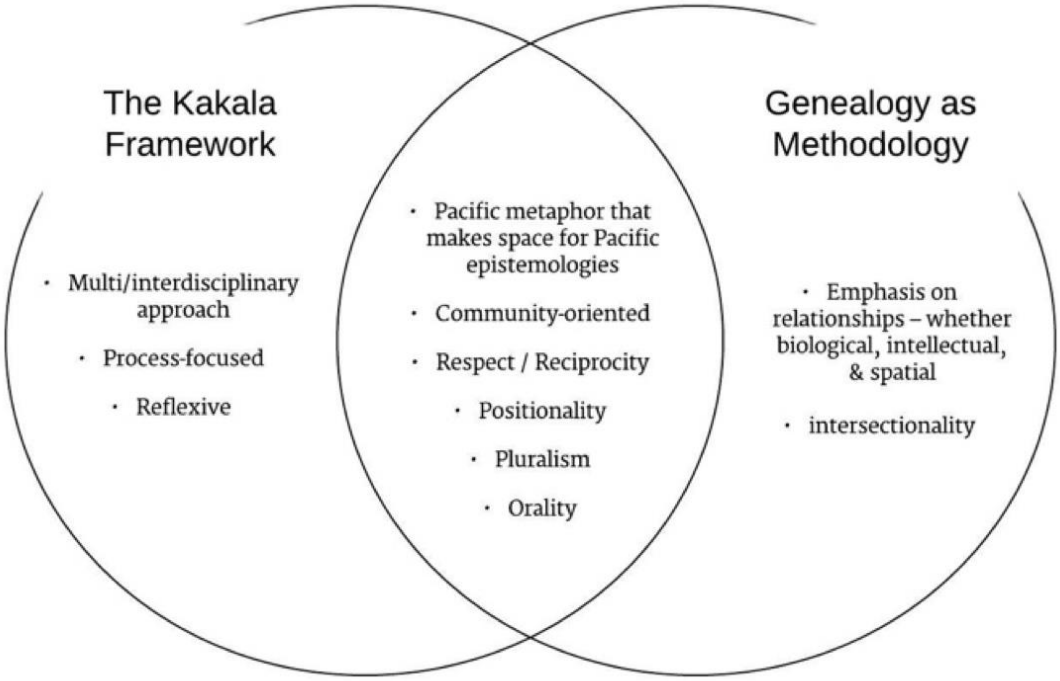
Genealogy, as a codified research paradigm, has been explored throughout the Pacific. Scholars of Aotearoa have applied the Māori concept of whakapapa (genealogy) as one of the foundations of the Māori worldview:

> The concept of whakapapa is consequently the all-inclusive interweaving mechanism that provides a legitimate foundation from which Māori research can be conducted and validated today. Whakapapa thus provides the space for Māori knowledge and is a means of considering the world thereby separating Māori-centered research from Western research perspectives (Graham 2009).

ʻŌiwi scholars have been equally as active in applying genealogy as a research methodology (hoʻomanawanui 2017, 51). An early advocate was Kanaka Maoli scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (2008). "In Hawaiʻi, genealogy is the meta-structure of space, place, and time. Genealogy is how we connect to each other and to ʻāina; from ka wā kahiko, to right now, to the space and time in front of us" (Souza and Meyer 2017, 12). The Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) also published a talanoa series on the viability of genealogy as an epistemological framework (Tengan et al. 2010).

Genealogy as a methodology reinforces the Kakala Framework in a number of ways. Genealogies are avenues for dissent and articulating competing claims. In other words, genealogies allow room for pluralities and multiplicities (2010, 140). This methodology further encourages reciprocity and respect towards community throughout the research project, two values identified in the University of Otago and Te Ara Tiki research protocols (Bennett et al. 2013, 108; Hudson et al. 2010).

Figure 1. Venn Diagram of Methodological Concerns



Genealogies, as stories and histories, can be understood as both textual and performative, as they create room for those stories (Tengan et al. 2010, 140). Here, genealogies produce various kinds of relationships. These relationships can be biologic and index a shared Pacific origin and bond (152). Genealogies are also intellectual as they chart the anthropologists' relation to the communities they study as well as their academic influences (156). They are also spatial. George Kanahele also posits:

> No genealogical chant was possible without the mention of personal geography; no myth could be conceived without reference to a place of some kind; no family could have any standing in the community unless it had a place; no place of significance, even the smallest, went without a name; no history could have been made or preserved without reference, directly or indirectly, to a place (1986, 175).[12]

Therefore, genealogies traverse both space and time in the intimacy of stories. Another way that these ASAO participants approached genealogies was a way of connecting to the "vā."

[12] See also Oliveira (2014, 78).

"The Moanan idea of space, vā, emphasizes space in between" (Ka'ili 2005, 89). Vā, as a socio-spatial term, also reveals itself across various languages and linguistic contexts. "The practice or tradition of citing one's genealogy is critical in gauging what one's identity is in relation to vā" (Tengan et al. 2010, 156). By deploying genealogy as a methodology, I apply special attention to the biological, intellectual, and spatial relationships that Nā Pōhaku Ola articulates between Maoli and Mā'ohi persons.

Chapter Overview

Chapter Two will introduce the importance of studying stones and the various historical and social meanings attached them. As we will see, stones are a potent site of investigation for they often have many different aspects of significance. Looking at these significances, we can better understand how stones function as objects of history or cultural resources across Oceania. Stones thus can be seen as having genealogies for their intellectual intersections. This comparative will open an exploration of this site's most legendary narrative and a look at the different cultural meanings that Nā Pōhaku occupies. Finally, these discussions will show how these monumental stones are imbedded in Waikīkī's deep past and landscape.

Chapter Three will explore the different ways that Nā Pōhaku has struggled to perdure in the 20th century. As we will see, this site's social meanings and values changed drastically over the last 120 years. These changes are reflected in historical representations and discourses about the stones as well as their physical security and visibility in Waikīkī. This story will be made visible through the analysis of archived material, predominantly newspaper publications, that document how the stones were moved and treated over time. These texts also reveal how they were at times valued and de-valued in different ways and caught up in the politics of history, social memory, and identity. Moreover, Nā Pōhaku Ola in the 20th century tells a story of how

colonial histories of Pacific pasts have mediated Hawaiians' relationships to their past and sacred sites and their relationships to other Pacific Islanders. These displacements, by drawing in discussions of cultural landscape and material culture, also tell a story of Waikīkī, a rapidly changing landscape that was physically and discursively changed to become what it is today. We will also see how these stones fit into a story of resistance in the late 20th and 21st century.

Chapter Four is a review of the present life of these sacred stones and explores new moments of encounter. Kanaka practitioners have been engaging with Mā'ohi persons in and outside of the diaspora through various events of intercultural exchange since 1997. Over the past 20 years, other moments of cultural exchange have continued to occur and is a new route in which the spirit and history of the site is reignited, re-valued, and shared with wider audiences. This chapter aims to document these developments and raise questions about what these events offer us in understanding how this site is valued differently today and how it makes space between Pacific Islander communities.

CHAPTER 2. A GENEALOGY OF STONE

Of the many stories that Nā Pōhaku Ola a Kapaemāhū a Kapuni tells, the most ancient is the story of how these four stones came to rest in Waikīkī in the first place. This deep time story is also likely the least understood. As many previous historical accounts often characterize the qualities of these origins as "mysterious," it is no wonder why many have struggled to expand on the legendary qualities of this site. However, no stone in Oceania is ever truly an island. Indeed, sacred stone sites represent a large portion of keystone places across Oceania. Pōhaku, pōfatu, or ʻōfaʻi (stones) occupy a space of immense spiritual, epistemological, historical and cultural importance in many Pacific places to which Hawaiʻi is no exception. Whether in the form of artifacts or architectural sites, stones are meaningful in many different contexts and are not profoundly significant for any single aspect, instead are significant in a variety of dimensions. As is true for many pōhaku, these dimensions—diverse and sometimes overlapping—bring to view how one pōhaku might converse intellectually and epistemologically with those found elsewhere.

This chapter introduces some exemplary sites, both regionally and in Hawaiʻi, to show how Nā Pōhaku Ola might compare with other wahi pana or keystone places. These examples illustrate the many ways that this site may be valued or considered meaningful for different people and in different contexts. Doing so works to add possible understanding to the archive of these stones as a whole but also embed their story in the cultural landscape of Waikīkī and Oceania at large.

Stones in Oceania

While all stones sites have their own significant story, there are numerous ways in which storied or sacred stones may be seen to intersect. In many Pacific epistemologies, stones are genuinely alive with their own spirits and life stories. They often communicate and interact with

living people or, in some cases, with the spirits of those once living. Stones may also hold ideas regarding health and well-being, or they may play an important role in marking and maintaining the sacred. Perhaps more well known, stones, in the stories that surround them, can play a role in mediating our experiences and memories of the past. Sometimes, this mediation happens in the performance and preservation of ritual or protocol as a way of interacting with the sacred. Perhaps because of this quality, stones have also been essential sites of revitalization and resilience where protocol activities have been re-emergent. Even further, where sacred sites and cultural protocol converge, social ideologies about power and negotiations of authority may become visible. Stones in the Pacific may also preserve memories of navigation and shared cultural roots with other communities and thus be considered intercultural. Finally, some stones are part of the category of coastal sites which belong to crucial zones of cultural activity but are also among the most vulnerable. This regional discussion below exemplifies just a handful of ways that stones may be culturally meaningful, and many of these sites hold one or more of these qualities and thus are kinds of stones that help illuminate the multiple dimensions of Kapaemāhū.[13]

Living with Stones Across Islands

Perspective towards stones as living is not unique to Hawai‘i but can be found in many epistemologies of Oceania. This is not surprising given that stones form the very basis of our world, and the foundation of the islands that sustained Pacific Islanders for millennia. It should be no surprise that the volcano goddess, Pele, holds such a revered status in the many Eastern

[13] While this regional review is dominated by examples from the cultural region of Polynesia, other examples that demonstrate the powerful role of stones can be found through the Pacific and worldwide. This is a topic for future studies.

Pacific places that her mythologies have travelled. In her violent power to create new lands also lies her power to create life (Nā Maka o Ka ʻĀina 1989). Thus, all rocks too, like the land, are born from her and share her burning spirit. In Michael Gunn's comparative work of Polynesian atua (gods), we see several examples of how stones were honored in the lives of past Pacific Islanders (2014). For example, Wesleyan missionary Rev. John Williams wrote in 1848 that Fiji islanders often paid respect to large stones which "were the subject of stories and on feast days, they would send a portion of food to these stones" (Larsson 1960 in Gunn 2014, 25). Williams also made note of a similar practice in Sāmoa where the people pointed him "to polished stone objects as representatives" of their gods (39). Gunn also collected oral traditions from Tongan community members who shared that, long ago, people used to pray to pairs of rocks which were understood to have ivi, or spirits (1). Additionally, in Tahiti and Mo'orea, stone images, known as tiʻi, were also culturally valued and make up a large body of cultural objects held today in the "Musée de Tahiti et des Iles–Te Fare Manaha," the national museum of French Polynesia. "Marker, land boundary, object of worship, protector image, fertility stone, witchcraft instrument, the tiʻi to this day remain an enigma, but in the Polynesian mind, they are alive" (103). These examples serve to show a shared epistemological orientation that connects Pacific islanders to their physical environment but also connects them intellectually as well.

Monumental Cord to the Past: Haʻamonga a Maui

Like many historical sites and monuments, stones of Oceania sometimes play a role in binding historical pasts to the present through the meanings associated with them. One prominent site of the island of Tongatapu (Tonga) is the monumental structure called Haʻamonga a Maui ("burden of Maui") (Clark & Reepmeyer 2014, 1245). This megalithic trilithon is the shape of an enormous door made of three notched limestone and beach rock blocks. Its estimated that the

stones could weigh as much as 118 tons (Spennemann 1989: 444). Part of a larger cultural complex of burials and platforms, this architectural feature represents the rise of the Tuʻi Tonga chiefdom that ruled for more than 600 years (1200-1800) (Clark 2014, 221). "The Haʻamonga a Maui trilithon, grand gateway to the Tuʻi Tonga imperial centre at Heketā in Niutōua, was probably named after 'the belt of Orion'" (Māhina 1993, 110). The memory of the site is associated with traditional ceremonies, including kava and inasi ceremonies, which validated presiding social and political structures. In particular, the inasi ceremony linked the Tuʻi Tonga (chiefdom) to the divine spirit of the Havea Hikuleʻo, the paramount chiefess of Pulotu and the goddess of fertility, agriculture, and harvest (Lātūkefu 1980; Helu 1999; Kaʻili 2017, 69). For Tēvita Kaʻili, inasi ceremonies are a longstanding example of the Tongan practice of tauhi vā (the art of mediating sociospatial relationships) between Tongans and Pulotu (2017, 69). Tauhi vā as the practice of "nurturing or caring for the space between" (Staley 2017, 24) brings into view how pōhaku sites, through cultural engagement, can be a touchstone to maintaining a connection to the past. Haʻamonga a Maui is an example of *inscribed memory* as it is still a sacred place and continues to be important for descendants who link themselves to those ancestral dynasties through its monumental presence and memory of these ceremonies (Clark 2014, 222).

Well-being and Knowledge Transmission: Te 'Ōfa'i Tāhinu

In many instances, stones may carry ideas about health and well-being. One way is through embodying deities that are addressed for protection or luck. Another is through the embodiment of traditional knowledge about healing and medicinal practices. We can locate one such story of massage and healing arts in Mo'orea's Marae 'Ōfa'i Tāhinu (SCP 1952; 2009). The Marae 'Ōfa'i Tāhinu is a single large basalt stone with a flat surface located in the valley of

Vai'are with a deep carved out hole on the top of the stone. Its name, Tāhinu, which means "to oil" or "to anoint," tells us this hollow section functioned to mix mono'i (oils) and other medicinal products. *Tahiti Heritage* refers to the Marae 'Ōfa'i Tāhinu as the "Monoï stone of Vaiare."

> This stone called, Ōfa'i Tāhinu would have served, in ancient times, to prepare the oil of monoi for the queen. But [it] had a much more spiritual role, because it was on this stone that were born the future priests who were destined to follow a particular formation. It was then used for their formation and finally for their enthronement (n.d. b.).

Western scholars have often overlooked the importance of such humble sites and their oral traditions. However, drawing on oral traditions of my tupuna and the pariparifenua (place-based oral traditions) of Vai'are Valley, we are invited to compare this site to a massage table where ancestral experts "*came to learn and receive the initiation of all the knowledge of massage*."[14] 'Ōfa'i Tāhinu then is an example of how stones are intimately involved in the transmission of stories and histories but also the transmission of indigenous sciences.

Power and Protocol: Roi Mata's Domain

Roi Mata's Domain is a significant cultural landscape in Vanuatu that became one of the first UNESCO world heritage sites of an independent Pacific Island nation in 2008 (Smith 2014, 52). This landscape on which his legacy is inscribed encompasses three islands and includes "Roi Mata's life at Mangaas, his death at Fels Cave on Lelepa Islands and his burial on Artok island" (Wilson et al. 2011, 3). This chiefly ancestral domain consists of several rock features, including rock art(Bedford et al. 1998, 188), coral wall enclosures and "magic' stones" (Wilson et al. 2011, 3).

[14] Translated by me. Drawn from unpublished manuscript of family oral traditions composed by my grandmother.Tetua-Manchon, Joseline Ariimihi, "PUO NOHO'RAA TÎNANA TUPUNA'TINI," (unpublished manuscript, May 5, 2012), Microsoft Word file.

The historical figure of Roi Mata is remembered for creating social institutions for conflict resolution that are still central cultural values today. UNESCO produced a video that shows how modern descendants reiterate the importance of this chief through "dramatic re-enactments," or a ritual performance, and how the memory of Roi Mata still functions in the inscribing of chiefly authority (UNESCO TV and Nippon Hoso Kyokai, 2013). These cultural protocol events play a role in communicating the significance of Roi Mata through ancestral ties as well as maintaining traditional systems of power and authority. Roi Mata's domain is an example of a cultural landscape that is still actively engaged with through protocol and bears weight on social systems, philosophical traditions, and national identity. "The continuing customary knowledge of and respect for Roi Mata in this place underpins the authenticity of the site, and the connection between Pacific people and their places from the past and into the future" (Smith 2015, 105).[15]

Interconnectedness, Navigation and Distance: Marae Taputapuātea

Many indigenous sites of the Pacific, and ones often composed of stone, play a role in the memory of distant interisland navigation and migration. Marae Taputapuātea[16] in Opoa, Ra'iātea in the Society Islands is one of the most famous marae in Central Polynesia and is another example of a significant indigenous cultural landscape inscribed as a World Heritage site. Anita Smith's work with traditional knowledge holder, Papa Maraehau, illustrates how the marae is bound to the surrounding land and sea, and transforms them into an "ancestral landscape" central to the remembrance of Mā'ohi traditions (2015). In connection with this marae complex, local

[15] Please see WHC.UNESCO.org for gallery images of Roi Mata's domain.
[16] Please see WHC.UNESCO.org for gallery images of Taputapuātea.

revitalization efforts have progressed in restoring cultural engagements such as with ritual, protocol, and other local land management strategies.[17]

A significant feature of Taputapuātea considered one of its "outstanding universal values" (105), is its history representing relationships and interconnectedness with other Pacific communities through stories of navigation and exchange. Oral traditions are well documented and tell us this marae once functioned as a "ceremonial center and navigational reference point" (108). "Marae are tapu, or sacred places, that express the essence of traditional Polynesian culture, the relationship of people to each other, to their gods and the land and the sea" (107).[18] These oral traditions of exchange are corroborated by heiau on Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi, and Molokaʻi with the cognate name, Kapukapuākea (Soehren 2010).

As Smith puts it, "Marae Taputapuātea, as a voyaging center and homeland of Polynesian communities, has acquired new meaning with the revitalization of traditional navigation" such as the arrival of Hawaiʻi's Hōkūleʻa in 1976 (108). More recently, when the Polynesian Leaders Group, an organization of several independent nations and observer members, gathered on Ra'iātea in 2015 to make a call for greater international actions on the climate change, Taputapuātea was the meeting place, the title of their official declaration, and the central symbol of historical grounding for the group's membership. "Compelling evidence for the cultural symbolism of the declaration, it was specifically adopted in the Taputapuātea marae, the cultural, historic and religious center of the entire Polynesian Triangle" (Lallemant-Moe 2018, 6).

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[17] Smith points out that although the World Heritage List has been slow to meet internationally attributed value of sites with the indigenous values, she presents Taputapuātea as an example of positive improvement in that direction (2015, 102).

[18] N.b. local experts point out that Taputapuātea's role as a political centre was probably more tied to the more recent period in the 1700s where the god 'Oro was dominant in the Society Islands. While space is not permitted here, this opens significant discussions on how intercultural or crosscultrual sites might be appropriated and reinterpreted to varying ends.

The legacy of Taputapuātea is also "maintained through ritual associated with the *marae"* (Smith 2015, 107) or cultural gatherings, and these events have powerful implications for the revitalization of cultural practices and the places that they are associated with. Like Roi Mata's domain, these gatherings are symbolic of a means of solidifying claims of genealogy or authority. Lorenz Gonschor writes about how in 2007 a festival to receive several royal families from Central Pacific places at Taputapuātea was jeopardized as several French Polynesian political adversaries publicly quarreled (2009, 153).

Like Nā Pōhaku Ola, Taputapuātea is complex and iconic as a vahi tapu (sacred place) as it represents common heritage and relationships across oceanic routes. It also is a place that protocol has been revived in the interest of maintaining traditional management systems and knowledge. Even further, it is a site in which modern political power and authority are negotiated.

Marking the Sacred: Pulemelei and Laupule

Another example of the role of stones in the marking of the sacred may be found in the large stone or "star" mounds in the islands of Sāmoa. While many such mounds structures exist in Sāmoa, the most prevalent in research are Pulemelei stone mound on Savai'i and Laupule mound in Apia, Upolu (Martinsson-Wallin 2014, 251-252). It's supposed that they were used for a variety of purposes, some used in the sport of pigeon snaring, as navigational tools interacting with landscape, or burial mounds or residential platforms for powerful chiefs (252-253). Thus, these different sites had different contexts for interacting with elements of the sacred.

In a research project on Pulemelei, researcher Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi tells the story of how Māori research colleagues and himself set out to combine indigenous methodology with scientific research (2007). When obtaining carbon-dating data meant possibly uncovering

burials, they set out with community support to conduct a series of ritual protocols to purify their work and ask for pardon for breaking tapu over the special place.

> In performing the ceremony, the mound was transformed into a contemporary monument. There were numerous aspects to the ritual, including indigenous religious revival and the bridging of new and old religions. Other interests could be interpreted in terms of land ownership related to local and national politics, while the view that the Pulemelei mound was an ancient diaspora site from which West Polynesians left to settle East Polynesia might be seen as supporting pan-Polynesian connections (Martinsson-Wallin 2011, 106)

While this site is a clear example of sacred spaces representing the mediation of the past with the present, for Tamasese Efi, this site is another example of an intercultural site.

> [its rituals] are a direct link to mythology, to Tagaloa... [It] opens visions of soo (connection or connecting) between the Polynesian fanauga (family)—from Hawaii to Tahiti to Rapa Nui. All, I hope, can gather one day at a connection in festival at Pulemelei to celebrate common heritage (Tamasese Efi 2007, 197).

Revivals and Connection: Fare Hape and Te 'Opurei a Pere

Touched upon above, pōhaku often appear as features in cultural renaissances as mediating the realm of cultural practice with ancestral landscapes. One example is the developments in Tahiti's Papeno'o Valley, home to 964 archaeological structures (SCP 2009), and a site of community revitalization for the care of cultural sites and intercultural protocol exchanges. A particular stone of interest is Te 'Opurei a Pere, a stone near the marae of Fare Hape, which is said to be one of the legendary birthplaces of Pere (Pele). 'Opurei means "meteorite" and is said to have been projected out by the volcano into the sky (Manu-tahi 1928, 49). Petroglyphs inscribe upon the stone the history of the valley's people (49).[19]

The need to revive protocol has also brought Mā'ohi and Maoli communities together. Guillaume Alévêque, who writes about the cultural association Haururu in the early 2000s, recounts that there was a growing consciousness among cultural activists that they did "not want

[19] N.B. the invasion from the Warriors of King Fa'eta of Popora (Borabora) (Manu-tahi 1928, 46).

to play at culture anymore but to live it" (2009, 1). In 2000, the first ceremony resurrected by Haururu was "a welcoming ceremony using cultural protocol to receive important Tahitian or foreign guests" (2011, 164). They hosted over 300 people at Fare Hape, including several traditional Hawaiian hālau (dance schools). "The ceremony began in the morning at the mouth of the Papeno'o River, where hosts and guests had an official meeting accompanied by dances and songs. They then made an offering to the sea, and the Hawaiians sang in honor of the sea gods" (2011, 165). Since then, Haururu has developed their own ceremonial protocol that has become increasingly complex and, today, the association continues to host various cultural and educational groups throughout the region. This site is an example of the power of protocol in maintaining cultural consciousness and sense of history. Even further, it might stand as an intercultural site linking distant places through shared mythologies and exchange.

Coastal Sites and Coastal Threats

Particular stone sites fall into the broader category of "coastal sites." Coastal sites are cultural keystone places which are found in the coastal zone of the geographic landscape and, like other sites, are significant for marking a community-centered sense of place for those that are historically and culturally tied there. As the sea forms a central resource of subsistence in and outside of Oceania, many of the oldest communities and settlements were founded around coasts and thus, while many of these coastal communities have changed over time, cultural sites remain to mark these long-standing relationships and local identities.

What makes coastal sites doubly worthy of attention is their vulnerability. Coastal lands are historically the most threatened by "continued urban, agricultural, and industrial development" (Reeder-Myers 2015, 436). In island places, where land area is finite, these anthropogenic threats are constant as every bit of coastline is potentially an ancestral landscape

which could be covered by new roads, resorts, or the foot traffic of unknowing visitors. Further, scholars are increasingly concerned about the effects of climate change on coastal archaeological sites. Projections of rising sea-levels indicate that cultural sites, including Marae Taputapuātea, will likely be inundated in the future and prone to destruction by increased weather action. As climatic threats increase, anthropogenic pressures on land use will also intensify.

> Although habitable coastal zones comprise only 1.5% of the earth's land mass, 41% of the world's population and 9 of the 10 most densely populated cities occur within 100 km of a coastline. The result is that rich archaeological records are endangered by rapidly expanding cities, development, and pollution... (Reeder et al. 2012, 187).

For these reasons, coastal sites are exceptional for they are prone to be cast aside and their place on the land is frequently precarious. Stones which inhabit the coast are especially vulnerable to loss or displacement when their meanings may not be so obviously marked or are only known to people with deep, intergenerational connections to that place.

Types of Stones in Hawai‘i

For Kanaka Maoli, stones occupy an important place in the material and the spiritual world. Master carver Hoaka Delos Reyes states that "stone is the foundation of everything" (Wianecki 2018, 41). "The *pōhaku* whether it was tiny *‘ili‘ili* (pebble) or a megalithic *pali* (cliff) boulder, was a very important part of religion in ancient Hawai‘i. The features of the land spoke to the Native Hawaiians in a living, imaginative picture language and, therefore, the rocks and stones had names and being" (James 2010, 10). J. Gilbert McAllister notes, that stones figured so conspicuously in the life of Kanaka Maoli that it was probable that the majority of prominent stones were named and had legends associated with them (1933, 19). Even deeper, stones metaphorically embody the familial connection that Kanaka Maoli hold to their land and their cosmic world, demonstrated in the practice of placing the piko (umbilical) with stones, forever linking child, place, and the ancestors (Oliveira 2014, 115). We also see this figurative role of

rocks in Ivy Hali‘imaile Andrade’s analysis of Ellen Wright Prendergast’s 1893 anti-annexation composition, “Mele ‘Ai Pohaku” or “Kaulana Na Pua.”[20] “The images in ‘Ai Pohaku are figurative and represent the necessary spiritual and physical nourishment of the land to Hawaiians today” (1994, 3).

A glance at one of the many encyclopedic works on cultural sites of the Hawaiian islands immediately reveals that stones (pōhaku) represent an enormous body of keystone places. As seen elsewhere, stone sites play an integral role in the transmission of ‘Ōiwi cultural knowledges related to place, history, epistemology, and stones are often storied places that trace the footsteps of heroes or the presence of gods on the natural landscape. Stones can encapsulate beliefs about well-being. We can also find stones that, like other regionally found stones, record navigational and intercultural moments in time. And moreover, stones might be sites of cultural practice and include a story of social, political, or cultural endurance. This section will discuss just a number of stones with these special epistemological and spiritual qualities. Reiteratively, this short list does not mean to be exhaustive or discuss the most important sites but rather represents examples of the ways that stones might trace a conversational genealogy with other sites at home and abroad.

Storied Places

As mentioned, stones may be considered to hold their own spirits or special mana (power). In some cases, this power comes from the association with past events which the stones then come to commemorate. Such is the case of the two stones, Pōhaku Naha and Pōhaku Pinao, which reside today in front of the Hilo Public Library (Hawai‘i). Pōhaku Naha, also called the

[20] See full song in *Hawaii Holomua* (1983, March 23, 2). Also see Ivy Hali‘imaile Andrade’s wonderful analysis in her Master of Fine Arts dissertation *‘Ai Pohaku* (1993).

Royal Stone or Pōhaku Aliʻi, was said to be used to measure the strength and blood of Hawaiʻi aliʻi (James 2014, 48). This impressive 7,000-pound stone was brought from Kauaʻi's Wailua River on a double-hulled canoe (Cheever 2003, 12). In the legend, Kamehameha I was said to have moved and flipped it although he was not of Naha lineage. This tale is one of the many stories that prophesized his life. Much as how people are remembered through place names, stones also trace the footsteps of heroes and thus play a role in "carrying-on-the-spirit" of people and their stories. These names and places become part of the archive of the landscape and orient a cultural way of being in the world.

Spirits of the Landscape

Similar to storied places, stones also can be the physical manifestation of various gods, deities, or spirits. McAllister makes note of a number of stones named after principle gods such as Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū and Hina (1933, 20). In other instances, stones were named for people or family members and were not merely a burial marker but represented where an ancestor could be contacted (James 2010, 10).

Often too are found legends in which human spirits were placed into stones for various reasons. In the legend of the Nānāhoa Stone,[21] as recorded by Mary Kawena Pukui, a keiki kapu (sacred child) of Tahiti came under the care of Kānehoalani and as a young man was directed not to look at women until marriage. However, one morning he disobeyed and wandered from his kahu (caretaker). Not long after, he saw from the cliff a young woman naked and asleep on the beach below. "He stared and stared and changed to stone."[22]

[21] Spelling as it appears in *Na Puka Wehewehe ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi* (n.d.).
[22] Informant Mary Kawena Pukui (August 4, 1952), cited in Sterling and Summers (1978, 185).

Pōhaku Kiaʻi is another unfortunate stone, located in Koʻolaupoko, who was said to be a man on the lookout for the hula women of Honolulu who habitually came over to steal the men of the Koʻolau hula women. He instead fell asleep and for his failure, the Koʻolau women turned him to stone.[23] The act of turning someone to stone also happens to moʻo (spirits, or serpents) as in the one of the legends of Hiʻiaka. In her dealings with two moʻo, Līlīlehua and Pāhoa, she turns Līlīlehua into stone and traps her voice in the Pōhaku kīkēkē of Waiʻalae (Sterling and Summers 1978, 278).[24] These storied and spirited stones, whether legendary or mythical, work in the transformation of space into a rich cultural world and mediate the ways that people and the physical come into interaction.

Well-being

One way that stones represent well-being is in food and subsistence practices. In Hawaiʻi, one can find numerous oral histories on Koʻa stones, fishing stones, or fishing shrines. For example, Hoʻai Heiau[25] is a fishing shrine that makes up part of Prince Kūhiō Park on South Kauaʻi. This park was an aliʻi residence where one can find a temple foundation and an upright stone (koʻa) beside the large human-made fishpond (James 2015, 141). Two other koʻa stones can be viewed at Kūkuiolono Park which houses many sacred stones rescued by the McBryde family (2015). The stone Pōhakuloa a koʻa (fishing shrine) was for fishermen and Pōhakuawa, was specifically used by traveling fishermen to "keep their catch fresh overnight" (James 2015, 137).

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[23] Informant Kekuahooulu Davis (1951) cited in Sterling and Summers (1978, 315).
[24] See "singing or bellrock stones" in future sections.
[25] Spelling from James (2015), however, Lloyd Soehren speculates that proper spelling may be Hōʻai ("to feed") (2010).

Mālei is another fishing stone that was resident at Makapuʻu, Oʻahu. This female stone was a kupua (supernatural being) and brought the uhu fish in abundance to the area (Sterling and Summers 1978, 258).[26] Fishermen would leave her lei of līpoa seaweed before climbing down the cliffs and for this, Mālei and the fishermen were happy (259). Historical accounts suggest that Mālei disappeared, reappeared, and disappeared mysteriously again with several versions suspecting bad fortune brought to those who moved or attempted to move her (258). Mālei is just one example of the many other fishing stones that exist in the islands. Each of these stones deserve attention for how their relationship with subsistence practices intersect with the idea that stones contain spirits that humans are able to interact with. Mālei is also a case of the precarious nature of coastal sites generally.

Another well distributed type of stone grounded in health, but also spiritual connection to land and ancestors, are birthing stones. One such example, located on the Puna side of Kauaʻi, is a set of three birthing stones near the heiau complex of Holoholokū which is said to have been established by the Tahitian chiefly legend Moʻikeha.

> Pōhaku Hoʻohānau and Pōhaku Piko, are part of this sacred precinct where exceptional destinies were said to be drawn into the world. Expectant mothers would lean up against Pōhaku Hoʻohānau, a ʻgiving birth stone,' to relieve labor pains and ease childbirth (James 2015, 62).

The other stone, Pōhaku Piko, was where the umbilical cord of the newborn was placed wrapped in kapa or the mother's hair, and it was believed the stone would guard over the child. Another stone nearby formed a shelter where new mothers rested.

[26] See "gendered" stones in future sections.

In both examples of these types of stones of well-being, whether for fishing or birth, respecting the living quality of stones represents that proper interactions between people and the landscape equals a better quality of life for all.

Mapping Distance

Often coastal sites and heiau which function as ancient meeting grounds or places of power have a dimension related to navigational or intercultural histories. One lesser known example of this is nā waʻa liʻiliʻi Kiolea,[27] a formation of rocks on the shore of Kaʻalaea in Koʻolaupoko, Oʻahu. Samuel Kamakau wrote in 1867 that these were canoes that came from Tahiti with the sands of Laʻamaikahiki (*Nupepa Kuokoa,* February 2). After the sands were deposited on to the beach, the canoes turned to stone in the shallows where they remained. The names of the various sands are still remembered in chant and place names (Sterling and Summers 1978, 191). Rayna Raphaelson wrote that the stones were under strict tapu until road builders desecrated and used the stones against the fears of local Kanaka Maoli. All those who touched the stones were said to have died shortly after (1925, 25).

This particular story holds a number of important messages. On the one hand, it records some very plausible moments of inter-island contact with legendary characters that have genealogical meaning for living people. On the other hand, it has an important message about the proper and improper treatment of sacred places and their effect on well-being. Finally, this site is

[27] Spelling variation exists beginning with Kamakau who uses nawaaliiliiakiolea, or the "small canoes of Kiolea" (1867, 4). Sterling and Summers uses na-waa-liilii-kiolea (1978), while Anne Kapulani Landgraf uses nā waʻa liʻiliʻi kioloa (1994, 38). Kiolea which means "long or narrow" (Sterling and Summers 1978, 191) might describe to the canoes or correlate to the hill, Puʻu Kiolea, which sits just above where the Kaʻalaea stream empties into the ocean (Soehren 2010).

an example of the vulnerability of coastal sites in the ways they are affected by developmental demands on the environment.

Revitalization and Protocol: Kahoʻolawe and Puʻukoholā

Any discussion of revitalization and cultural endurance might be remiss without mention of the awe-inspiring wahi pana of Kahoʻolawe. Unlike any other cultural site, the island of Kahoʻolawe in its entirety constitutes a single wahi pana and, at the same time, is home to many sacred keystone places. Traditionally called Kanaloa, the island is not only home to sixty-nine koʻa stones (McGregor 2006, 261), it was also an ancient training center for long-distance navigation. Because of that, its place names as well as its numerous pōhaku, such as the archaeo-astronomical stone, Pōkāneloa, are invaluable today for the cultural knowledge they encode. Lelemia Irvine tells *Hawaiʻi Magazine*, "what makes PoKaneloa sacred is not just the rock itself, but it's the wahi pana (sacred place), its location, all the pōhaku and the surrounding environment" (DeKneef 2017).

Kahoʻolawe remerged in Hawaiian cultural consciousness in 1976 catalyzed by the grassroots movement, Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana ("PKO"), which mobilized against the Navy's weapon testing that had been taking place on the island since 1941 (Kajihiro 2009, 311). After thirty-five years of protest and struggle, including the lost lives of activists George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, the movement would succeed in ending the US military's target practices and exercises on Kahoʻolawe in 1990 (Osorio 2014, 157). The arguments used to interrupt the US military's occupation of Kahoʻolawe was based on the spiritual sacredness of that place (Kajihiro 2009). In addition to taking a community-based approach, the movement enlisted the help of kūpuna for their oral histories a knowledge of ceremony and chant. Kahoʻolawe rests as a prime example of how cultural landscapes, stones, and keystone places can be too valuable to lose and

how they can feature as primary focal points for cultural practices to endure. While the physical work of restoring and protecting Kahoʻolawe is still a work in progress, the methodologies and successes of PKO continue to live on today in how they inspire the work of others in their wahi pana (See also Chapter 3 and 4).

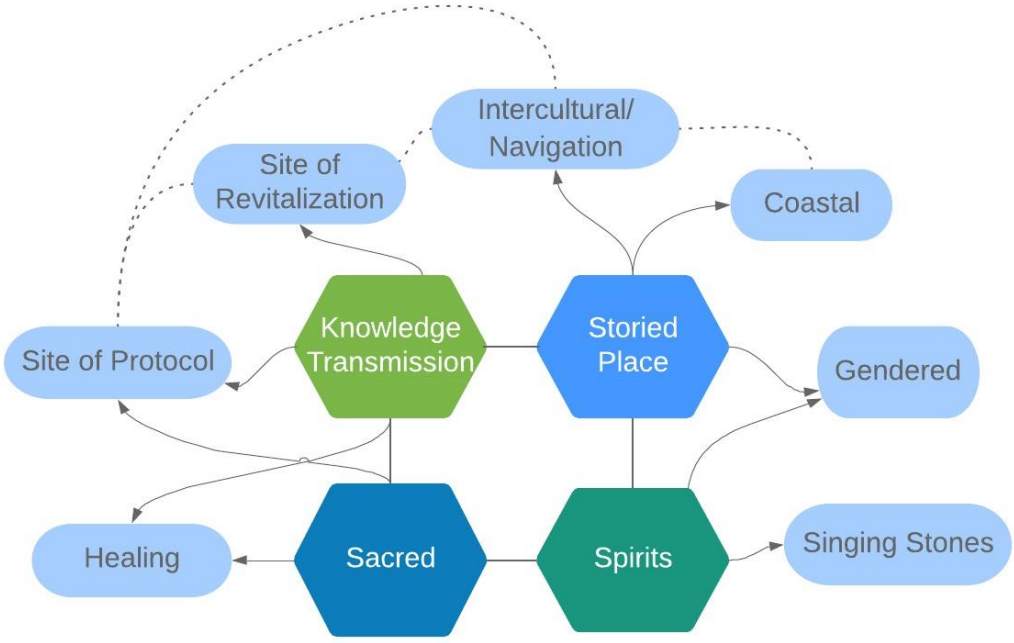
A further example of how cultural protocol and place merge is in the work of indigenous anthropologist Ty Tengan, who has written extensively about his experiences as a member of the Hale Mua o Maui (men's group). Part of his organization's work is the participation in cultural events and ceremonies, including the Puʻukoholā Heiau, South Kohala. The heiau represents a significant keystone place as it signifies Kamehameha I's ascent over Hawaiʻi in 1791, which would lead to his legacy as the unifier of the islands. While cultural festivals had been taking place for years, Tengan's dissertation explores how Kanaka cultural groups, in the early 1990s, aimed to give new meaning to the site through lived cultural experience (2003). In his view, this particular gathering was not only about revitalizing cultural practices but was about cultural rebuilding with a message about identity and nationhood.

Oral Histories of Nā Pōhaku Ola

The living stones on which this work is focused are unlike any other site but at the same time share their importance through their intersections with a significant number of cultural keystone rock sites found in Hawaiʻi and throughout the region. While it is impossible to discuss every significant site in full here, the ones reviewed above serve to illustrate the existence of other discussions about the significance and qualities of such cultural sites. As we will see, Nā Pōhaku Ola a Kapaemāhū a Kapuni shares many qualities discussed above. These stones are 1) a sacred and storied site, 2) a site of living spirits, 3) a site of healing, 4) an intercultural site, and 5) a coastal site. In each of these instances, Nā Pōhaku Ola is also a site of knowledge

transmission, and Nā Pōhaku as a site of protocol and site of revitalization will be explored in Chapter 3 and 4. Additionally, to be discussed, Nā Pōhaku are singing stones, gendered stones, and a site of Waikīkī.

Figure 2. Diagram of Aspects and Functions of Stones



These monumental stones of Waikīkī, have a short but canonical and well-known oral tradition that relates to a distant time on the shores of Ulukou, Waikīkī when ancient Kanaka were already present on the landscape. While variation and discrepancies exist among the various renditions of this moʻolelo, many details remain the same.[28] As the story begins, four individuals arrived in the islands from a distant land, sometimes defined as "Kahiki" and sometimes as "Moaʻulanuiākea."[29] The four travelers, Kapaemāhū, Kapuni, Kahāloa, and Kīnohi, settled in Ulukou where they became renowned for their skills in healing. Among their

[28] See Chapter 3 for further discussions of varying historical representations.
[29] See Chapter 5 for further discussions on Moaʻulanuiākea (page 120).

other powers, it is said that they performed "many wonderful cures by the laying on of hands" and that they perpetuated the art of "massage" throughout the island (Boyd 1907, 140).[30]

After some time, these powerful teachers left Hawai'i, and some accounts say that the "king" of Tahiti had called them back. Before they left, four massive stones were selected from the foothills above Waikīkī from a particular type of stone. Thousands of people helped move these basalt stones on the night of Kāne and, by some accounts, a full month of ceremonies were carried out. When these rituals came to a close, Kapaemāhū completed a ritual to place his spirit into the stones. After that, the four healers vanished and were never seen again.

Although no one knows exactly how long ago these teachers arrived, these four stones have stood in Waikīkī for several hundred years since to commemorate the work and lessons of these legendary figures who left their intellectual mark in the hearts of Hawai'i's ancestors (141).[31] These stones stand on their own as symbols of traditional knowledge systems and connect Kanaka Maoli to a time and landscape no longer visible. They also are held in place by their memory of travel, exchange, and cultural heritage with places far away.

Living Stones

The name "Nā Pōhaku Ola" was given to this monument in 1997 after it was restored by the Queen Emma Foundation (Pagliaro 1997) (See Chapter 3 and 4). This name was chosen because it communicates multiple levels in which these stones embody practices of traditional

[30] "Massage" or healing practices of the past included a variety of techniques that may have included physical contact or not. Various techniques aimed at physical or spiritual healing may have used touch very differently from what modern practitioners do. In this way "massage" might be a limited word to our modern understanding. Further future exploration is needed.

[31] One significant point of difference in renditions related to these pōhaku are the assessments of time. Written account often say that these healers arrived before Kākuhihewa as a safe estimation (Hollingsworth 1941; Appendix A7; James 2010). George Kanahele wrote that the healers came to Waikīkī "sometime before or after Pā'ao," one of the famous Tahitian priests who settled in Hawai'i (1996, 54). Gaye Chan and Andrea Feeser posit that the healers probably arrived around the same time period as Pā'ao, which they estimate as 1400 AD (2006, 139).

well-being. For some, the stones do far more than represent the teachings of the ancient healers but are endowed with the life forces of these figures. Their name, "stones of life," commemorates the legend that the healers transferred their "powers" into the monuments before vanishing (Boyd 1907). In traditional epistemologies, all stones are living, but in this case, these stones contain the spirits of knowledge holders and, as the physical manifestations of mana, are touchstones to the sacred and a source of well-being.

Healing Stones

Another perspective of how these stones intersect with ideas of well-being might lead us to interrogate how sites function, not only as spiritual items, but also as tools in the transmission of knowledge. There is a possibility of drawing a comparison between the healing stone in Vai'are and one particular stone in the assemblage of Nā Pōhaku Ola for, in 1905, when Archibald Cleghorn undertook the project of excavating these stones in Waikīkī, he took note of some unusual structural features.[32]

> For the past two decades… Mr. Cleghorn has taken note of some peculiar outcroppings of stones a foot or two above the sand. He saw that one was hollowed with some attempt at design to a depth of several inches. He became convinced that the stone had, in ancient times, been used in the performance of religious rites. There were deep stains about the rim which no washing would remove, and the stains are there to this day, but whether caused by blood of sacrificed victims or from draughts of awa poured into the hollow by priests is not yet determined (1905, *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 23).[33]

These stones have been moved, weathered, and damaged, broken and unsettled, so it is difficult to make sense of these early descriptions. However, some suspect that these descriptions

[32] Some later publications say that Princess Ka'iulani and her mother Princess Likelike, aware of the stones' lore, would place lei on these stones before they would enter the water to swim (Chan & Feeser 2006, 81).
[33] See Chapter 3 for further discussions of this 1905 account.

correspond to the large stone Kīnohi.[34] This large weathered and flattened stone also has a hollowed cavity on its surface. It is not impossible to consider that this stone's mana, in addition to the spiritual power it holds, was also in the use of its stained indentation to mix medicinal oils. If so, its function as a reminder of the lessons of the healers was two-fold for it may have been a monument and a massive teaching tool—a place of practice for massage and physical healing.[35]

Gendered Stones

Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū represents a compelling story about gender and spirituality. The four healers are described in oral traditions as māhū, embodying both male and female spirits. The earliest formal publication described them as handsome and "unsexed" (Boyd 1907). It is well documented that societies in Hawai'i and French Polynesia, as well as other Pacific places, share māhū as a third-gender social institution (Dvorak et al. 2018). In Tahiti, the institution of māhū caught the attention of early missionaries (Finney 1964; Gunson 1964) and, in the 1920s, traveling artist George Biddle writes that māhū held a particular affection and social esteem in the native community (1999, 183). Traditionally, māhū persons had a meaningful role in spiritual and traditional knowledge transmission. "[The māhū] is the middleman and broker of the arts. Throughout the ages, he has been witchdoctor, priest, and prophet" (64). This is true too in Hawai'i's traditions, and Mary Kawena Pukui notes twelve supernatural beings, "called papa pae māhū, said to be hermaphrodite healers from Kahiki" (Pukui et al. 1986, 18).[36]

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[34] From personal correspondence with 'Ōiwi and Mā'ohi close family friend Hi'inani Blakesley. Hi'inani is a professional massage therapist and cultural therapist in Waikīkī, student of traditional healing, and descendant of John Tamatoa Baker.
[35] This speculation is inspired by personal communications with my grandmother, Ariimihi Tetua-Manchon.
[36] N.b. Another site exists on the island of Kaua'i with the similar name, Ka-pae-ki'i-mahu-o-Wailua. While this site has two powerful although conflicting legends, both versions include a myth where spirits are placed in the stones (Barrére et al. 1980 in Kikuchi 1994, 28). Future investigation and comparison recommended.

In Kanaka worldviews, stones of all kinds are believed to be gendered. Stones that are dense, smooth basalt stones as seen as kāne (male) while porous stones are regarded as wahine (female). In fact, stones are also seen to reproduce as placing kāne and wahine pōhaku together brings about the birth of pebbles (Nā Maka o Ka ʻĀina 1988). With close examination, the four stones of Waikīkī themselves are said to be māhū, evidenced in their texture and form, having both male and female pōhaku properties.

Singing Stones

One unusual type of stone that also intersects with our site is known as "bell-rock stones," or pōhaku kani and pōhaku kīkēkē. These are unusual stones that were made from a type of basalt that would resonate a sound when struck. A legend of a bell stone, or pōhaku kani, of Wailua, exists however it was damaged and later on went missing in the 1930s. It is said to have been positioned just above the Wailua River and was used to announce births or raise alarm (James 2015, 65). These stones were most often used in ancient Hawaiʻi in wide-spread communication. In 1961, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* published an article listing nine different "phonolite" stones whose legends had caught the attention of various scholars (Warren, 7). This included the story of Pōhaku kīkēkē of Waiʻalae. J. K. W. Makanakeoe wrote in 1908 that the stone had been broken and taken by foreigners to be displayed worldwide as a curiosity of Hawaiian stone for it rang so loudly (cited in Sterling and Summers 1978, 278). While these sacred stones of Waikīkī were not included on this list, it is also well published that the stones of Kapaemāhū were also made from this type of basalt (Boyd 1907; Barrett 1997). Because of this, it is believed that the stones must have been originally shaped from a quarry in Kaimukī (Krauss 1997).

Stones that generate a ringing when struck are found in several Pacific places, including Fare Hape in Papeno'o Valley, Tataa Point in Punaauia, Rikitea on Mangareva, and Mount Temehani on Ra'iātea (*Tahiti Heritage*, n.d. a.; c.; d.). These 'Ōfa'i pahu (stone drums) usually function to raise alarm or call fish and are very often located close to a freshwater river.[37] These stones sometimes are also called 'ōfa'i ora ("stones of life") because spirits are believed to flow down through the mountains along these routes (*Tahiti Heritage,* n.d. a.).[38]

In particular, on Mo'orea, we also find an example of an 'Ōfa'i Pahu called, the "stone drum of Hono'ura." This stone is attached to the legendary figure, Hono'ura, a prince of Tautira (Tahiti) whose wide travels are imprinted in the names of natural formations on many French Polynesian islands (Williams 1895).

> Honoura had a great strength, it is said that he was part of the race of the giants, he had managed to develop all his senses, so much so that he could see in the four corners without moving his head. He could even see with the hands. Alone, he could move rocks. He had the sense and the knowledge of moving stones. He had knowledge of human anatomy in massage. He had knowledge of the anatomy of sounds and their effects. He had a great knowledge of the shape, layout and structure of the stone.[39]

The name 'Ōfa'i Pahu hints to its utilitarian function. "*Ōfa'i Pahu (stone drum) resonates, as its name evokes, like a drum with a deep and somber sound when you tap on it with a faniu haari, the central rib of a coconut leaf"* (*Tahiti Heritage,* n.d. a.).[40] Oral histories share that communities used the stone's loud sound to inform the population of approaching enemies, and sometimes to call dolphins up through the pass of Vai'are.

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[37] From personal communications with Manu Taputuarai, cousin and educator at Papara Cultural Center.
[38] Traditional lore says that such stones "used during the flight of souls" and are referred to as "main stations in the Path of Souls" (*Tahiti Heritage*, n.d. a.).
[39] Translation by me (Tetua-Manchon 2012).
[40] Translation by me. "Ce rocher dénommé Ofai Pahu (pierre tambour) résonne, comme son nom l'évoque, comme un tambour avec un son grave et profond lorsque l'on tape dessus avec un faniu haari, la nervure centrale d'une feuille de cocotier" (*Tahiti Heritage*, n.d.a.).

Nā Pōhaku Ola of Waikīkī

Waikīkī, as a Kanaka cultural landscape and a rich ancestral place was once not thought to be as important and touchable as it is recognized to be today. It, of course, has a dramatic story of commercial development and an internationally iconic reputation that has "overwritten" ʻŌiwi conceptions of this place (Winduo 2000). Over recent decades its history as a Hawaiian cultural landscape has been explored by researchers, the first being George Kanahele (1996).

In the 1990s, Kanahele described that Waikīkī was largely considered an archaeological "desert" (22). Archaeological evidence suggests that the area of Waikīkī was not settled until sometime after the Windward side of Oʻahu. Kanahele reminds us that Waikīkī is just a piece of the larger ahupuaʻa of Kou that extended to Maunalua, and that the Waikīkī plain encompassed a much larger area than what we think of today.[41] This plain was fed by the abundant rainfall that fell on the Koʻolau filled the network of streams—converging and reuniting—that were intricately named by the communities that would honor their abundance. These were known as the waters of Kāne for as much water flowed above ground as below (3). Waikīkī was a marshland, fed by three shifting streams, Kuekaunahi, ʻĀpuakēhau, and Piʻinaio and it honored the importance of these streams in its name, the land of "spouting fresh water" (Louis 1999, 51). Waikīkī, once a coastal fishing village, eventually would be its own center of agriculture activity for "Hawaiians transformed this wetland into a productive pattern of flooded taro fields and fish ponds" (McDonald 1999, 181). [42]

[41] See Appendix B4 for map of the larger historical Waikīkī plain and of the waterways in coastal Waikīkī. See also Chapter 3 for short discussion on how Waikīkī's agricultural landscape changed rapidly in the 19th century.
[42] See Van Tilburg et al. for further discussions on traditional agricultural practices in Waikīkī, including kuawehi . (2017, 27).

Waikīkī's abundance of water, reef protected shore, and coconut grove made it a key residence for many great Oʻahu aliʻi. The banks across the three rivers became aliʻi residences and this was particularly true near the stream ʻĀpuakēhau whose west bank formed the district Helumoa and Ulukou on the east. "The chiefs of Oʻahu had long favored the two shores at Helumoa and Ulukou as a site of power" (McDonald 1999, 181). Māʻilikūkahi, honored as Oʻahu's first great king (approximately 1400-1500s), is credited with being the first chief to make Waikīkī his royal center. With just a few exceptions, it would remain the seat of Oʻahu Aliʻi until Kamehameha I's move to Honolulu. Māʻilikūkahi's descendent, Kākuhihewa (1640-1660), is credited with establishing Helumoa and planting hundreds of niu (coconut trees) in what is known as the King's Grove (Hoʻokuleana LLC 2013, 7). Helumoa was also the district where conquerors like Maui's Kahekili and Hawaiʻi's Kamehameha I would land to begin their takeovers (McDonald 1999, 181).[43]

Waikīkī's longstanding importance to Hawaiʻi's people is also found in the epic of Haumea, the deity of fertility and childbirth, and mother of Pele. Haumea was also a powerful moʻowahine.[44] In the story of Wākea recorded by Joseph Poepoe, Haumea is credited with great importance for it is she who leads Wākea's takeover of the island of Oʻahu (1906). In Haumea's battle with Aliʻi Nui Kumuhonua, the priest "Kamoawa tells Kumohonua that Haumea was born at Āpuakēhau and is called Hau-o-Apua" (Kameʻeleihiwa 2015).[45] So, while Kualoa is

[43] Evidence of these royal regimes are found in archaeological sites such as Helumoa Heiau and the no longer visible ʻĀpuakēhau heiau which was deconstructed to build Helumoa (McAllister 1933).
[44] Moʻowahine are water spirits, serpents, or lizards, which appear in various legends. Moʻowahine, like Haumea, are associated with fresh water health and were worshipped in the female temples of Hale-O-Papa (Kameʻeleihiwa n.d. a.). "Moʻowahine are also connected to the healing arts not only to fresh water but to health and to healing" (n.d. b.).
[45] Poepoe writes "O kahi i hanau ai o keia wahine o Hau-mea, eia no ia ma o ae nei i kahi muliwai o Apua-ke-Hau. A no kela inoa Hau o Apua i heaia ai keia wahine o Hau-mea" (1906, 1). Kēhau is defined as "dew, mist, dewdrop" or "gentle lad breeze." ʻĀpua is defined as a fish trap, handle or as a disobedient or rebellious person" (*Na Puka Wehewehe ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi*, n.d.).

importantly the residence of Haumea, Haumea too has a special connection to ʻĀpuakēhau stream.

There is no coincidence that the healing stones of our interest were located in this special cultural landscape. Waikīkī was also considered a place of healing and was occupied by physicians and kahuna of lāʻau lapaʻau (medicinal healing) (Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association 2001). For example, the stretch of beach in front of the modern-day Halekulani was called Kawehewehe, or "the removal." In the shallows, natural springs sprout from underground mixing with the sea. This particular bathing spot was used as a place of purification by aliʻi and those who were injured or sick. Sometimes bathers would leave limu kala in the ocean as a "symbol of asking forgiveness of past sins" (Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association 2001). The ʻĀpuakēhau stream's second name, "Muliwai o Kawehewehe" (stream that opens the way), tells us that its waters were known to be that which fed these underground springs (Young 2013; Louis 1999, 49). These seaside springs can still be visually located today as they create a natural gap in the reef.

Healing Waters

Perhaps one of the most mysterious aspects of the stones, due to their early excavations in 1905, is that their original placement by these ancient kāhuna is a matter of debate. It is quite certain, given that Waikīkī does not have basalt stone in the area, that the stones were moved purposefully to Ulukou, as recounted in the oral traditions, and remained there for hundreds of years without disturbance. However, details of their first movement in the 20th century have not

survived in the written record.[46] Notwithstanding, there is reasonable suspicion that Nā Pōhaku too have a specific connection with the stream ʻĀpuakēhau.

Figure 3. Table of Facts of Stones' Location Prior to 1905

LOCATION FACTS BY LEVELS OF CERTAINTY		*CITATION*
Known	*Cleghorn occupied famous property of ʻĀinahau "across from Moana Hotel."*	*Cleghorn 1979, 26;Appendix B3*
	ʻĀpuakēhau stream "used to run through our place [ʻĀinahau] —the stream—and it used to empty out between the Moana Hotel and the Royal Hawaiian [Hotel]."	*Cleghorn 1979, 26; Appendix B3*
	Cleghorn owned other properties including beach property next to Moana Hotel.	*Cleghorn 1979, 9; Appendix B5, B9, B11*
	Assisting architect, Traphagen, resided at ʻĀinahau during 1905.	*Cleghorn 1979, 9*
	Cleghorn excavated stones from and placed above sand in 1905.	*1905, The Pacific Commercial Advertiser February 23; Appendix A1*
	Stones were visible from beach shore after excavation.	*Appendix A1*
Possibly Known	*Stones were positioned in sets of two, two in Ulukou and two in shallows.*	*Boyd 1907*
	Two stones were possibly positioned opposite banks river.	*Kennedy 1995; Appendix A27*
	Stones possibly positioned in "straight line."	*Appendix A1*
	Stones may have passed onto a neighboring property line and was moved.	*Appendix A1*
	Cleghorn 'discovered stones.'	*Appendix A1*
	Alternatively, Princess Likelike and Princess Kaʻiulani knew of stones and significance.	*Chan & Feeser 2006, 81*
Unknown	*Exact location and relative orientation of stones before excavation.*	

Waikīkī's value as a profoundly cultural place of well-being is in how the lands continued to be held in the hands of royal families through most of the 1800s. For example, King

[46] Excavation of the stones and Waikīkī's developmental changes in the 20th century will be discussed in Chapter 3.

David Kalākaua, Queen Liliʻuokalani and Prince Kūhiō were some of the principal land holders of large royal properties in the area of Waikīkī. One of these crown lands was the ʻĀinahau Estate, given to Princess Kaʻiulani, daughter of Princess Miriam Likelike and Archibald Cleghorn, by her godmother Princess Ruth Keʻelikōlani.[47] The ʻĀinahau Estate was famously lush and filled with numerous ponds fed by the ʻĀpuakēhau Stream (Tuttle 1911). In fact, in an oral history account, Alexander Cleghorn (son of Archibald Cleghorn) states that the river "used to run through our place... and it used to empty out between the Moana Hotel and the Royal Hawaiian [Hotel]" (Cleghorn 1979, 26). With the development of Waikīkī, the stream was displaced with only the crooked road of Kaiʻulani marking its historic path, which cuts almost directly in front of the Moana Hotel (McDonald 1999, 181).[48]

What is certain is that Cleghorn undertook an excavation of several stones on his property in 1905 and at least some of them came to occupy his beach property Diamond Head of the Moana Hotel.[49] Where or how close the stones were to the shifting ʻĀpuakēhau is undetermined. The most frequent oral tradition is that two stones were placed near "[the kāhunas'] residence and two at their favorite bathing place in the ocean" (Boyd 1907; Pagliaro 1997, 3). Another account from 1995 suggests that the two stones, Kapaemāhū and Kīnohi, were the two placed by the healers' residence in Ulukou and the other two were placed in the shallows on opposite banks of the ʻĀpuakēhau Stream (Kennedy 1995). Waikīkī's historic place names support this theory as the ʻEwa side of the stream was called Kahāloa, and the Diamond Head side was called Kapuni. While it is not possible to determine the original location of the healing stones, it seems likely that ʻĀpuakēhau played a role in the healing practices of the site's visitors

[47] See Appendix B1 for map of Ulukou indicating the lands of Princess Ruth Keʻelikōlani.
[48] See Appendix B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, and B8 for maps of ʻĀpuakēhau Stream.
[49] See Appendix C1 for photograph of the stone assemblage on Cleghorn's property in 1910.

and may sheds light into the Tahitian healer's decision to make Waikīkī their home. Sources of both fresh and sea water are often integral in the preparations of healing experts who use them for ritual or purification.[50]

In any event, these stones remain embedded in the cultural landscape of Waikīkī. They tell the story of long-distance travel. They also mark a legacy of intellectual development and healing practices. And, in the way that they have lived on long past the many Hawaiian ali‘i that resided there, these pōhaku signal to the many magical qualities of Waikīkī.[51]

Conclusions

As I started my research journey on the nature of pōhaku, I would often come into conversation with peers about what made this site so special and unique. I was often struck by how often people would have their own powerful pōhaku story that would in some way relate to mine. Even if we are not aware, many of us might have a special attachment to the stones from where we are from for the many ways that they draw meaning for us. This chapter served as an introduction to the captivating story of Waikīkī's healing stones but also to draw attention to the qualities that make it unique and, at the same time, characteristic in its place in the Moana. I hope I demonstrated too, through the shared epistemologies of sacred pōhaku, the appropriateness of studying the history of a stone site as an avenue of studying Pacific histories and the space between Pacific worlds. Stones, like people, have their genealogies which traverse great distances of time and space.

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[50] Natural water sources are also an essential feature of Mo'orea's healing site te 'Ōfa'i Tāhinu. "To the north a river and to the south a spring, to the east the sea, and to the west the waterfalls..." (Tetua-Manchon 2012). Translation by me.

[51] See Appendix C8 for illustration representing the relationship between the stones of Kapaemāhū and the waters of Kāne.

CHAPTER 3. STONES THAT MOVE

As discussed in Chapter 2, the storied place of Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni has a mythical legacy grounded in deep time (Hanlon 2017). There also exists a historical legacy of Nā Pōhaku Ola. Nā Pōhaku first emerged into written history in 1905 and, from that time on, would resurface again and again through newspapers and other published material. During the 20th century, Waikīkī was subject to rapid and massive changes. These developments would also affect the context of significant sites in the ahupua‘a, including Nā Pōhaku Ola whose four stones were displaced numerous times between 1905 and 1997. Despite the stones’ appearances in numerous short publications, a complete narrative of how these stones have been affected has never been fully articulated. Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to make visible this compelling story. Second, this chapter will also critically examine how these publications reveal how Nā Pōhaku Ola has been represented as a historical object and, in turn, what role these publications played in the shaping of both history and public memory.

Newspaper publications are particularly fruitful in examining the relationship between historical production and the formation of public memory (Maurantonio 2014). On the one hand, newspaper articles are themselves historical in that they are primary sources that enter into the historical record. And, in cases such as this where articles are telling a story about historically potent objects, they also play a role in recording historical narratives to be revisited. On the other hand, newspaper publications have also been a well-engaged medium by scholars of rhetoric and memory studies for their role in shaping peoples’ memories (10). Once newspaper articles are circulated, they immediately start interacting and merging with everyday persons’ own memories and experiences and, in turn, become part of their own memories and perceptions of place. When Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian Ott note that “memory is rhetorical and that memory

places are especially powerful rhetorically," they draw attention to the complex role that texts and language play in the transmission and formation of both place and memory (2010, 2).

Examining the newspaper record will reveal not only factual information about Nā Pōhaku Ola but will reveal a number of insights about social forces that have moved Nā Pōhaku Ola along Waikīkī's shore. First, we will see how these texts are all historically contingent and are concerned with the anxieties of their times. We will also see that Nā Pōhaku, as historical objects, have been attached with social meanings, such as that of belonging and identity, and deployed to do social work in various contexts. Further, in comparing these texts, we can critically explore how memory is politically saturated in not only its inclusions but also its omissions. Further, Nā Pōhaku Ola represents also a site of contested memory, particularly as it interacts with the developmental history of Waikīkī, in which different kinds of stakes holders have different interests in how the landscape is remembered.

Narrating Stones

The following section explores newspaper articles published between 1905 and 2015 that deal with Nā Pōhaku, or the "Wizarding stones of Waikīkī."[52] I have identified thirty-four newspaper publications during this time period, however in twelve of these works, the stones are not the main topic of the publication but are cited as examples for various purposes. There is an unexpected number of publications in the context that, as we will see later, many publications express a sense of obscurity and "forgottenness" in the stones' story (See Appendix D4). This

[52] At present, only one newspaper article was located from one of the Hawaiian language newspapers in print between 1893 and 1948 (Silva 2004, 2). While no further Hawaiian language sources were located at this time, it does not mean that they did not exist. As more of these historic publications are digitized and made available to the public, future research could further could greatly benefit this work as Hawaiian language newspapers form a critical archive for Kānaka Maoli in the reclamation of history and cultural heritage today.

chronology is supplemented with additional news articles and other works to further historically contextualize the various periods in which this sacred site came in and out of public view.

Unearthing "Cleghorn's Stones" (1905)

As introduced in Chapter 2, these stones claimed the attention of Archibald Scott Cleghorn. Cleghorn was a Scottish-born businessman and the father of the Crown Princess Kaʻiulani by his wife Princess Miriam Likelike, sister to King David Kalākaua (Cleghorn 1979). He was a friend and advisor to King Kalākaua and served in several public service positions, including as a member of the House of Nobles and as the Royal Governor of Oʻahu between 1891 and 1893. As the first Honolulu Parks Commissioner (1900-1910) and the president of the Kapiʻolani Park Commission (1888-1910), Cleghorn was influential in maintaining and creating several public works, including Thomas Square (1907, *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 15, 9), and is credited with planting many of the historical trees in Kapiʻolani Park and Waikīkī (Hawaiʻi State Archives, n.d). Cleghorn was strongly opposed to the 1893 illegal overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani but would continue to serve the public under the Territorial government through the Democratic Party of Hawaiʻi.[53]

By the time Cleghorn undertook the excavation of this stone site, Waikīkī's landscape was significantly changed from the place of agricultural activity that it had once been. By the early 19th century, the fields and fish ponds were in a neglected state following the devastating effects of the introduction of foreign diseases on the indigenous population and, by the mid and

[53] Cleghorn was also one of the named trustees in the Queen's contentious trust estate along with Curtis Iaukea. However, Cleghorn would not hold this role as he would pass away before the Queen in 1910. See Sydney Iaukea's *The Queen and I* for further discussions on the history of the trust, how Waikīkī was transformed following the 1920s, and how land contentions are a historically inherited (2012).

late 1800s, many of the ponds and fields were converted by Chinese and Japanese farmers into rice fields and duck ponds (Hibbard and Franzen 1986).

Waikīkī was also moving away from its legacy as a site of chiefly power. By the late 19th century, American and European families and entrepreneurs were buying beach-front homes and, in Victorian-style, mingling with monarchs (McDonald 1999). At the turn of the century, following the events of the illegal overthrow of 1893 and annexation by the US, Hawai‘i became ruled by an oligarchy of sugar corporations largely established by missionary families such as Castle & Cooke, C Brewer & Co., Alexander & Baldwin, Americans Factors, and Theo H. Davies & Co. (Iaukea 2012, 50). These events were the tipping point for an already changing Waikīkī. “In the last decade of the 19th century through the first decade of the 20th century, the remaining beachfront lands of the Hawaiian ali‘i at Waikīkī became occupied by and were passed to new write proprietors and lessees” (McDonald 1999, 188). The Moana Hotel, Waikīkī’s first hotel, having just been opened in 1901, was still new and, in 1905, Princess Ka‘iulani had passed away at the ‘Āinahau Estate only six years earlier. It was in this atmosphere that Cleghorn would make some noticeable modifications to his property.

The first time that these sacred pōhaku enter into the written record was on February 23, 1905, through the English newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Appendix A1).[54] This article, entitled “Sacrificial Stone Idols and Skeleton: Interesting Find by Ex-Gov. Cleghorn on

[54] In February and March of 1905, only two Hawaiian newspapers are archived (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ke Aloha ‘Āina*). No mention was found on available and legible pages. Further, archival material of Hawaiian language newspapers between 1903-1913 and 1913-1922 are not readily searchable. Quality of text imagery for these periods do vary and obscure our ability to identify source material.

Waikiki Beach Lots—Relics of a Barbarian Past Uncovered," detailed Cleghorn's initiative to enlist the assistance of architect Oliver Traphagen to unearth and relocate several stones.[55]

> In the front yard of the Cleghorn beach premises and in plain view of the road, is a huge mound of stones, or, to be more explicit, a group of huge stones with some smaller ones grotesquely elevated on top… For the past two decades, or since the time when the Princess Likelike used the same premises for a bathing place, Mr. Cleghorn has taken note of some peculiar outcroppings of stone a foot or two above the sand…

The article continues to detail how a total of four stones were excavated "in a straight line" across neighboring properties with the permission of the owners. What raised great interest was the discovery of skeletal remains, specifically a jaw bone,[56] under one of the largest stones. Cleghorn enlisted the help of a local dentist and a physician and, with their expertise, Cleghorn was "convinced," that the stones must have been used in spiritual rites and ritual sacrifice.[57]

> Sacrificial stones, the history of which is too remote even for the oldest Hawaiian inhabitants here to determine, have been unearthed by Hon. A. S. Cleghorn… The discovery is an all-important one in the antiquarian history of the islands and their people, for it was probably on this spot for generations ago when Oahuans were supreme in their own sovereignty… (1905, 5).

The article was of such interest that was reprinted in its entirety in the *Hawaiian Gazette* the following day (1905, 2).

The stones would also make a debut of a different kind in the pro-provisional government newspaper, the *Hawaiian Star*. However, this time the stones would be deployed as a metaphor for political on goings.

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[55] When Alexander Cleghorn was interviewed in 1971, he recounted that family friend and architect Oliver Traphagen also worked on the Moana Hotel and, in fact, lived at the ʻĀinahau Estate for a period (1979). Traphagen's architectural records were not a line of investigation pursued here but could be in future studies.
[56] While this is not explored here, a future study may look into the cultural significance of iwi (bones), particularly jawbones. In pan-Polynesian mythologies of Māui, some versions recount how he obtained the jawbone of his grandmother as weapon of immense power. This might reveal the symbolic power that such an object holds (Luomala 1949).
[57] See following section for discussions on *Bird of Paradise* (1931) and the enduring Pacific tropes of the sacrificial virgin.

> It is an extremely timely find that Governor Cleghorn has made out at Waikiki. He has unearthed a sacrificial stone used by the ancient Hawaiians and in view of the resolution of Congress anent the election protest, it will be up to Curtis P. Iaukea to present himself to the Democratic party for immolation on the Cleghorn altar (1905, February 25; Appendix A2).

This article becomes the first example, and not the last, of the stones being used to mediate temporal on goings in the present. In this case, they are made meaningful through how they index a set of relationships in the cultural politics of 1905.

The local fuss over the move of the stones and the talk of the ancestral remains would draw on for, a few months later, the *Evening Bulletin* published a follow-up piece titled "Royal Remains Were Not Found. How Rumor Grew" (1905, May 12; Appendix A3). The article put to rest a snowball of local rumors that had ensued credited to the exaggeration of "some children near the Annex" whose "parents discussed the matter downtown." It was rumored that Cleghorn had, in fact, found the remains of Kamehameha I and that he "had been offered a big sum for the bones and refused it." The rumors were settled quickly by a phone call to the residence and a relative. "There is nothing in the story of Mr. Cleghorn finding the bones of Kamehameha I. He removed some large stones just Waikiki of the Waikiki annex and found a skull some time ago. There have been no bones, royal or otherwise, since then."[58]

Thrum's Representations (1907)

After the initial commotion caused by the stones' disturbance in 1905, the story of the stones would be more formally publicized in Thomas Thrum's *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual in 1907*. On January 3rd, 1907, both the ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi Newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* and the

[58] N.b. Possible future lines of investigation not pursued here include a more extensive compilation of spatial data and mapping.

Honolulu Advertiser alerted the public to the annual's publication and, in both cases, the stones of Kapaemāhū are listed as one of the issues' significant contributions (Appendix A4 and A5).

> Ua hoopukaia ae nei ka buke Alamanaka a Mr. Thrum no keia makahiki 1907 e nee nei. O kekahi o na mea maikai i hookomoia iloko o keia buke, o ia no na heiau o Hawaii nei ame ko lakou mau moolelo. Mawaho ae o na heiau a me ko lakou mau moolelo, o ke ano kekahi o ka noho ana o ke au kahiko ame ka holo pa-u. He moolelo kekahi no ka pohaku kahuna Kapaema-hu… (1907, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 4).
>
> *The Almanac by Mr. Thrum has just been published for this year 1907. One of the great things introduced in this book are about the heiau of Hawai'i and their stories. Besides the Heiau and their stories, another one is of the way of living of the olden times and pā'ū (female horseback riding). There is another story about the priest's stone of Kapaema-hu...*[59]

The two-and-half page article that appeared in Thrum's almanac was titled, "Tradition of the Wizard Stones Ka-Pae-Mahu: On the Waikiki Sea-Beach Premises of Hon. A. S. Cleghorn" (139-141) and was credited courtesy of James Alapuna Harbottle Boyd. Boyd was a part Hawaiian diplomat instrumental within Kalākaua's royal government. He served as an advisor to Kalākaua and later Queen Lili'uokalani as well as secretary to the Hawaiian diplomat Curtis P. Iaukea. Boyd was also Cleghorn's son-in-law through his daughter Helen.

Several difficulties are present with the article presented in Thrum's almanac. One, there is no way to discern what roles Boyd or Thrum had in its final composition and, second, it is impossible to discern how and to what extent oral histories were engaged. Nevertheless, this piece is by far the most quoted work and the language of Boyd's account plays a canonical role in most of the published materials following. For this reason, I have included it in its entirety.

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[59] Translation completed by me with the assistance of a Hawaiian language speaker who did not wish to be identified as this time. This article is the only located Hawaiian language newspaper source on Nā Pōhaku Ola and is very short. It begs the question as to why this site was not covered (or not located) in the nūpepa archives and what this says about how this site was valued in the early 1900s. While this article provides limited insights, it does however have a significantly stronger orientation towards highlighting the almanac's cultural pieces than the corresponding English piece published the same week which lists the almanac's coverage of current events prior to the cultural feature pieces (Appendix A5). Closer translation investigation should be explored in future works.

Figure 4. Full Excerpt of Boyd in *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1907*

These mid-Pacific isles have many legends attached to various, localities, and mountains, rivers, lakes and places have their goblin and other stories of *bygone ages*. In Hawaii there are *many places which give ocular proof of the supernatural tales of the mythical beings who are credited with a personality equal in local lore to the celebrities of ancient Greek mythology*, and the doings of the *dreaded gods of Hawaii* have been recounted amongst the Hawaiian people for successive generations. Of late the doings of a quartette of sorcerers who have prestige amongst the mele singers and recounters of ancient Hawaiian tales have been revived by the unearthing of long concealed monuments on the Waikiki beach premises of the late Princess Victoria Kaʻiulani, daughter of Princess Miriam Likelike and Governor Archibald Scott Cleghorn. These discovered relics of ancient days have brought out the tradition of their existence and to the following effect:

From the land of Moaulanuiakea (Tahiti) there came to Hawaii long before the reign of King Kaku[h]ihewa, four soothsayers from the Court of the Tahitian King. Their names were: Kapaemāhū, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi. They were received as became their station, and their tall stature, courteous ways and kindly manners, made them soon loved by the Hawaiian people. The attractiveness of their fine physique and kindly demeanor was overshadowed by their low, soft speech which endeared them to all with whom they came in contact. They were unsexed by nature, and their habits coincided with their feminine appearance although ‘manly’ in stature and general bearing. After a long tour of the islands this quartette of favorites of the gods settled at Ulukou, or Kou, Waikiki, near where the old time Makai house stood, which location is within a few lots of the Moana Hotel.

The wizards or soothsayers proved to be adepts in the science of healing and many wonderful cures by the laying on of hands are reported to have been affected by them so that their fame spread all over this island (Oahu), as the ancients say, “from headland to headland.” Their wisdom was shown by many acts which gave them fame among the people.

In course of time, knowing that their days amongst their Hawaiian friends were drawing to a close, they caused their desire for recognition for past services to be remembered in some tangible form, or manner, so that those who might come after could see the appreciation of those who had been succored and relieved of pain and suffering by their ministrations during their sojourn among them. *As a most permanent reminder the wizards agreed amongst themselves that the people should be asked to erect four monumental tablets,* two to be placed on the ground of their habitation and two at their usual bathing place in the sea. They gave their decision to the people as a voice from the gods and instructed that the stones be gathered from the vicinity of the historic ‘bell rock,’ at Kaimuki, on the Waiʻalae road. The night of “Kane” was the time indicated for the commencement of the work of transportation and thousands responded to aid in the labor. Four large selected rocks, weighing several tons each, were taken to the beach lot at Ulukou, Waikiki, two of which were placed in the position occupied by their hut and the other two were placed in their bathing place: in the sea. The Chief of the wizards, Kapaemāhū, had his stone so named, and *with incantations and ceremonies transferred his witchcraft powers thereto, and sacrifice was offered of a lovely, virtuous young chiefess, and her body*

> *placed beneath the stone.* Idols indicating the hermaphrodite sex of the wizards were also placed under each stone and tradition tells that the incantations, prayers and fastings lasted one full moon. Tradition further states-as is related in the old-time meles of that period-that, after the ceremonies which included the transfer of all their powers, by each of the wizards to the stones thus placed, that they vanished, and were seen no more, but the rocks having lately been discovered they have been exhumed from their bed of sand by direction of Governor Cleghorn and have been placed in position in the locality found, as tangible evidence of a Hawaiian tale (1907, 139-141).

There are number of striking elements contained in this article that became the primary source for this wahi pana. For starters, it is the first introduction of the names of these remembered figures and the first occurrence in which they are identified as being from "Tahiti." It is the first time that readers learn about the healing legacy of these stones and the four names of the stones are documented. It is also the first reference to the gendered natures of these figures. The report tells us that the stones were but a faint memory at the beginning of the 20th century. But also notable is that how this publication shares with the three pieces in 1907 a particularly sharp focus on "human sacrifice," a theme that would linger in other publications until the 1960s (See Appendix D3).[60]

ʻĀinahau Dissolved

In 1910, not long after this publication, Cleghorn passed away. With the interest of preserving the ʻĀinahau Estate, he donated the property in his will to the Territory of Hawaiʻi with the condition that it be made into a public park in honor of Princess Kaʻiulani. The donation was eventually narrowly blocked after years of deliberation even after over one hundred people appeared before the lands committee of the house of representatives as a public demonstration in favor in 1913 (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 16). The city ultimately did not accept the terms of

[60] See following section for discussions.

the gift, citing difficulties of upkeep. This allowed the property to be subdivided for residential development (Chan and Feeser 2006, 141). The property was also greatly impacted by the Waikīkī Reclamation Project between 1921 and 1928 which used public funds to condemn 161 acres of Waikīkī, including ten acres from the Cleghorn Estate (McDonald 1999, 191). Like many other portions of Waikīkī, the remaining portions of the property not swallowed by the Ala Wai Canal were sold as forty-six single home plots. Around this time, the historic ʻĀpuakēhau stream was redirected and replaced with pavement.[61]

Mary O'Donnell, a friend of Cleghorn and Kaʻiulani and nanny to Alexander Cleghorn, would maintain ownership of the beach premise property (Cleghorn 1979; Appendix B11). Cleghorn had also had a vision for the ancient stones. His will stated, "I hereby direct that the historical stones now upon the premises last above mentions shall not be defaced or removed from said premises" (Pagliaro 1997).[62] The lack of documentation suggests that the stones remained on this property in their 1910 placement and had been an unmarked yet notable local feature. If there existed any formal or informal documentation on Cleghorn's efforts to move the stones in 1905, they did not make their way into the public record. After his death, belongings of the estate were auctioned off save some items of interest that were kept on display in the historical home. The home would burn down in an accidental house fire in 1921, the same year that the reclamation project and the construction of the Ala Canal began (*Honolulu Advertiser*, August 3).

[61] See Iaukea on how the Waikīkī Reclamation Project dramatically changed the lifestyles and working environment of Waikīkī's Hawaiian families, and how the apparatus of the law and financial means were used to condemn lands of farmers and make the canal possible (2012).
[62] Cleghorn's full will-and-testament can be accessed at the Hawaiʻi State Archives.

Protesting a 'Burial for Progress?' (1941)

The stones would not appear in the newspapers again for 34 years, but when they resurfaced, they would do so in a fury. In June of 1941, six months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the stones would become a point of public discourse as proposed changes to the property threatened their place on the landscape. Between the *Honolulu Advertiser* and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, nine articles were published over the course of a month providing the platform for community protest.[63]

On June 4th, an article entitled "Ancient Memorials Endangered" was published in the editorial section of the Wednesday paper (Appendix A6). The author, only identified as Y. Y., calls attention to a recent project on the old Cleghorn property:

> "I see by your paper that there is now a project for erecting a bowling alley upon this property and it is possible that provision for the preservation of these relics has not been made. Is there not some person or hui who would be interested in attending to their safety?"

This concerned individual makes an immediate reference for readers to look to Thrum's annual as evidence of the stones' "great traditional value." "It would be a great misfortune were they to be destroyed" (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 4, 6).

This editorial piece grabbed enough interest for the subject to be featured on the front page two days later. On June 6th, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* published "Wizard Stones To Go So Waikiki May Bowl" (Hollingsworth 1941; Appendix A7) and the article was accompanied by a photograph of a smiling woman (the manager of the cottages) "perched" on the boulders.

> About eight tons of rock, worth its weight in Hawaiian historical significance, are about to be removed to make way for an air-conditioned bowling alley… the stones will either

[63] The only publicly archived Hawaiian language newspaper produced during 1941 was the *Ka Hoku O Hawaii*. Between May 28th and July 9th, seven issues were published. No mention of the stones in Waikīkī was located (Nupepa.org).

> have to be blasted out or removed elsewhere as the place has been leased to the Hawaiian Enterprises Co.

The article describes that the stones were not widely known and that they were concealed by shrubbery between the old-fashion cottages of Cleghorn now to be taken down. The article stated that legal complications might arise with the new construction plans because of the specifications for the stones' permanent preservation on the premise in Cleghorn's 1910 will. When questioned, "the amusement company officials say that their removal is up to the owners from whom they are leasing the property."

The *Honolulu Advertiser* followed up the next day with a brief piece, "Wizard Stones To Be Moved" (1941, June 7; Appendix A8), which provocatively led with, "The legendary wizard stones of Ka-Pae-Mahu,[64] rich in historical lore, must give way to 20th Century progress." In its condensed summary of the site's legend, the article states that "a virgin chiefess" was sacrificed under the rocks and that the remains of "the sacrificed girl" were sent to the Bishop Museum.[65] The piece ends sharply stating that building operations were scheduled for July 1st.

The very same day *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* put out another front-page headline for a Hawaiian Civic club had mobilized and exerted pressure on the issue.[66] In "Hawaiian Club Hits Removal Of Wizard Stones" (1941, June 7; Appendix A9), the club's president, Mrs. Flora Hayes, told the paper that if the stones are not preserved, "Hawaii will lose its color and we will be just another American community. The Hawaiian Civic club does not wish to happen and believes firmly that all historical objects and places should be preserved." This conviction

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[64] N.b. These articles also show Hawaiian spelling conventions changed over time, namingly with variations such as "Kapaema-hu," "Ka-Pae-Mahu," and today's "Kapaemāhū."
[65] Several inquiries were made to the Bishop Museum & Archives regarding these skeletal remains. None were located at this time.
[66] Hawaiian Civic Club archives could be a line of investigation pursued in future studies.

expressed about the stones' value is another example of how place plays a key role in the mediation of social memory, identity and community distinctiveness (Martinsson-Wallin and Thomas 2014, 20).

The club's initiative must have had an immediate impact for the article stated that the very same day, the property owner, Alexander Cleghorn, announced a revised plan to sink the stones in place so the new building could be constructed around it. "This will be done he says, without marring the stones which he is anxious to preserve." A. Cleghorn told the paper that he offered the stones to the Bishop Museum, "but they were so large and unwieldy, the museum had no accommodations for them." The civic club's protest and A. Cleghorn's response were reprinted on June 8th in the *Honolulu Advertiser* almost verbatim under the title "Club Protests Moving Stones" (1941, June 8; Appendix A10).

The following Monday, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* followed up on the story in "Wizard Stones May Be Buried." The paper stated that a 30-year lease of the property had been finalized and A. Cleghorn's plans to sink the stones in place remained (1941, June 9; Appendix A11). "An eight-ton stone monument dedicated to legendary Tahitian soothsayers[67] at Waikiki several centuries ago will soon be lost from sight for possibly 30 years." A. Cleghorn was quoted saying that "sometime in the future, the stone[s] can be excavated and seen again." The paper extended the topic to page 13 of the issue with the title, "'Wizard Stones' Will Be Buried At Waikiki Spot" (Appendix A12). Here, the plan to sink the stones is presented as a well-formulated decision and names Lou Davis as the lead architect advising on the matter.[68]

> Every care will be used in making proper disposal of the wizard stones on the Alexander Cleghorn property… Mr. Cleghorn has been giving much thought to the disposition of

[67] See Appendix D1 on terms used to describe these "Tahitian soothsayers."
[68] Architectural records of Davis were not a line of investigation pursued here but could be in future studies.

the stones and is advised that sinking the stones in their present locations will satisfy the legal requirements of the will.

This article reiterates that the stones are too heavy and bulky and so "no museum has place for them now."

On June 11th, the newspaper remained a platform for voiced concerns from the community, however, this time it presented a different form of protest. A contributor only named as E. R. S. submitted an editorial response to Hollingsworth's headliner in the form of a poem titled, "Spare the Wizard Stones" (See also Appendix A13).

Figure 5. Full Excerpt of "Spare the Wizard Stones" by E. R. S 1941

Oh, spare the wizard stone we pray,
Let's try to bowl elsewhere.
Historic things we think should stay
In their time-honored lair.

The monuments of ancient days
We never can replace.
To blast them from their ancient lays
Seems somehow a disgrace.

Let's leave them where they are today,
Where they for years have lain.
And find some other place or way
To institute our game.

This 12-line poem, where the stones are "historic" and "ancient," presents them as attached to the land they reside, and attributes moral qualities to the construction plan with the emotive word "disgrace." Although concise, this poem effectively trivializes the planned construction by juxtaposing the historical weight of the stones with the bowling alley's purpose of entertainment.

One month after the stones became news, a new announcement, in "Wizard Stone Display Set," suggested that the building plans had now been modified in favor of the stones (1941, *Honolulu Advertiser*; Appendix A14). On July 4th, Herbert A Truslow, a representative brokering the lease deal, publicized that the city's planning commission ordered a "10-foot set back line for the bowling alley building" and that now the owners planned a "concrete walk

between the two well publicized 'wizard stones.'[69]... "This gives us plenty of room to place the famous 'wizard stones' in a prominent spot and should satisfy the Hawaiian society that objected to the removal or destruction of the stones." It concludes that the transfer of the Cleghorn property would be finalized the next day.

These news publications in 1941 show that the stones, although often spoke of as a hidden secret, still represented something substantial and meaningful for knowledgeable persons. Recognition of their significance circulated and reignited in public discourse memory, not once but nine times, including in the voices of concerned individuals and activist groups. It appears that the pressure put on by the newspapers and the protests of Kanaka Maoli voices had been loud enough to challenge and protect the stones for the future. However, it is unclear what actually took place after this deal was signed and news coverage ceased. In 1986, June Gutmanis writes that the stones were indeed broken and incorporated into the foundation "probably to facilitate construction" (35).

Stones Out of Sight

The years between 1941 and 1963 are characterized by a void of news publications related to the stones of Kapaemāhū, and it would appear that they had slipped out of view and, in turn, collective memory. In 1961, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* published a lengthy culture piece on various "bell rock" stones found throughout the islands and their legends (Warren, 7). The author, Grace Tower Warren, collected numerous second-hand stories many of which were of stones no longer present or now broken and unsounding. She includes an informant's memories

[69] N.b. This article specifically mentions "two" 'wizard stones' here in 1941 (Appendix A14). Thrum's almanac, the dominant source accessible at the time, mentions four stones (Boyd 1907). This discrepancy is of interest for future research.

of Kaimukī's pōhaku kīkēkē which likely was formed from the same quarry as the stones of Waikīkī.[70] Interestingly, however, Nā Pōhaku are not recalled among these "Phonolite Rocks." Another cultural piece on legendary pōhaku also appeared in 1963 in the *Saturday Star-Bulletin*. "The Miracle Isles," briefly recounted an extensive list of historical stones with a great many dealing with legends of healing and sacrifice (Dale 1963). Again, "the wizard stones" of Waikīkī are not mentioned or recalled here.

Fortunately, it would not take 30 years for the stones to once again resurface for the property was later taken over by the City and County of Honolulu (Gutmanis 1986, 35). The City had made plans to acquire 45,149 square feet from the beach portion of the old Cleghorn Estate property and 14,051 square feet from the adjacent historical "Steiner Mansion."[71] These purchases were part of a "master-planned addition to Kūhiō Beach recreational facilities" (1962, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* August 6; Appendix A17). Gutmanis summarizes that "when demolition of the old Waikiki Bowl began, the large stone of Kapaemāhū was found" (1986, 33-36). It is notable however that demolition did not actually take place until late 1962 (*Honolulu Advertiser,* October 5; Appendix 18). The City and County of Honolulu succeeded in acquiring the "Steiner Mansion" in 1952 however wasn't able to secure the Cleghorn Estate portion occupied by the Waikīkī Bowl until 1958. Following the acquisition, the City continued the leases of 10 units in the old building before condemnation and demolition in late October 1962 (1958, *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 22). Even before the legal acquisition was complete, the Hawai'i Hotel Association publicly complained about the city's slow removal of old buildings with the publication, "City Turns Deaf Ear to Plea For Removal of Buildings," aimed at the beach corner

[70] Refer back to Chapter 2 for discussion on the pōhaku kīkēkē of Wai'alae in the legend of Hi'iaka.
[71] See Appendix B5, B9, and B11 for maps locating the historic Steiner property Diamond Head of the "Cleghorn beach premise."

of the aging Waikīkī Bowl and Tavern (1958, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* April 16). What is visibly absent from these news publications on the Waikīkī Bowl project or the acquisition of the property is any mention of the momentous stones that had stirred so much public discussion two decades earlier.[72] These omissions are not benign and speak for themselves that Nā Pōhaku Ola was not within reach in the collective memory.

New Space for 'Wizard Stones' (1963)

The stones of Kapaemāhū would re-emerge in 1963 in the article "Legendary 'Wizard Stones' Are Restored At Waikiki" (*Honolulu Advertiser,* September 8; Appendix A20). The article announces that the Department of Parks and Recreation (DPR) recently restored these four monumental stones and installed a bronze plaque.[73] "The stones were unearthed when restoration of the beach area, the former Cleghorn property, began late last year. The largest, weighing about eight tons, was discovered when the Waikiki Bowl building was demolished." This confirms that the stones were built over in the 1940s but were not destroyed. The piece states that the stones have been "scarcely restored" following but had been recently vandalized with red paint. This prompted the necessity for a more formalized setting. The restoration team deeply embedded stones into the sand as "not to mar the landscape or interfere with the use of the beach." The story is accompanied with a photo of prominent Hawaiian scholar, Mary

[72] In 1961, the only "Wizard of Waikiki" that appeared in the newspapers was a locally famous developer who had earned the nickname, Roy C. Kelley (Rickard 1961).

[73] See Appendix C5 for image of the plaque's installation archived with the Bishop Museum as 1960s. I believe the accurate date of this photo is 1963, as that is the date on the plaque. Further, the article dated September 8th, 1963 states that the plaque had been installed the week prior (Appendix A20). DPR records were not pursued here but could be investigated in future studies.

Kawena Pukui, placing an intentive hand on the stone of Kapaemāhū while Neil Blaisdell, Mayor of Honolulu, stands beside her reading the plaque (See Appendix C7).[74]

The stones were featured again three years later in 1966. The article highlighted that, despite the installed signage, many people still did not know about their "special mana or power" (1966, *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 18; Appendix A21).

> Sometimes bikini-clad sunbathers perch on the Wizard Stones without even bothering to read the plaque that describes their legend-rich past. It's doubtful if any of the Hawaiian beachboys or surfers today would know that names of the quartet of stalwart wizards whom the stones represent.

The article shares the names of the four "wizards" and recounts like in 1963 that the stones were "completely forgotten" until the Waikīkī building was torn down. At this point, Honolulu officials made motions to ensure they would be kept on Kūhiō Beach.

The stones were presented again in 1974, as part of a Sunday paper series based on the travel book, *Incredible Hawaii* (Barrow; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 6; Appendix A22). This short piece was accompanied by a sketch illustration of four boulders, a hala tree, and an empty beach landscape. This time mention of the stones' history of displacement was completely absent and their presence is made to invoke something mystical and eternal on a landscape that was clearly very changed. "The concrete high-rise boom of the last decade has not changed the sea front with its blue horizons."

Re-Placing the Sacred (1980)

In 1980, the stones shifted again and, like in 1941, the newspaper became a platform for public discourse. These massive stones were moved to what was meant to be a temporary

[74] The Bishop Museum archival work of Mary Kawena Pukui was not a line of investigation pursued here but could be in future studies.

location as the city completed plans to build a new public restroom. The *Honolulu Advertiser* published the piece, "City's shifting of stones stirs spirits of ire," with a large photograph captioned "The 'Wizard Stones of Waikiki' at their new location share the beach with a pile of sewer pipes" (Borg 1941; Appendix A23). The article leads off with the statement, "Hawaiian traditionalists are irate about the handling of four boulders..." and juxtaposes the voices of ʻŌiwi activists, such as Leatrice Ballesteros, against a spokesperson of the DPR. Additionally, non-ʻŌiwi religion scholar John Charlot was quoted saying, "if you have a set of stones, where they are and their relation to each other is important. The city told me they would take care of the stones, but this doesn't suggest that."[75] The city responded that they had taken precautions and that "the boulders have not been harmed and were given both Christian and Hawaiian blessings before they were moved 30 feet up Kuhio Beach last month." The paper attempted to contact the person who conducted the blessing, Lani Davis, but she was "too tired to discuss the matter further." Pat De Costa, with the DPR, also told the paper that there was "no evidence" that the stones' former place "diamond head of the hotel" was the boulders' original location anyways.[76]

The following week, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* published an editorial by James Jindra (1980, May 27; Appendix A24). The writer tells a personal story about how he and his family make trips to the stone to hasten their travels back to the islands and without offering any direct comment on the current treatment by the city he states, "I'm pleased that the relocation of the stones has once again brought them to public notice." He also reminds the readers that the stones

[75] John Charlot is a Professor Emeritus of the Department of Religion at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. Charlot taught Hawaiian and Polynesian religions as well as New Testament and Religion and Art.
[76] In 1986, June Gutmanis concludes on these developments in a strange sentiment. "Early in 1980 the stones were again moved, and so-called "traditionalists," mostly non-Hawaiians unaware of the stones' history of moves along Waikiki Beach, received extensive if short-lived newspaper and television coverage protesting the move. After several months "in storage" while beach improvements were being made, the stones were moved to a location some fifty feet "up" the beach from their last site near the Moana and Surfrider hotels. There, with both Hawaiian and Christian blessings, the stones were placed under a banyan tree along Kalakaua Avenue" (36).

had been restored in 1963 by city officials "doubtless" because of both the stones' historical worth as well as to respect the 1910 will of Archibald Cleghorn. It is unclear if this article or the pressure from indigenous voices had any effect as no further articles follow.

The stones did remain on the beach backdropped by surfboard racks. They would appear only two other times in the 1980s as brief examples of Waikīkī's remaining charm. One of these pieces written as a romanticized beach stroll would point out to its readers the historic stones that lay past "the huge banyans near the surf board racks" (1986, *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 16; Appendix 23). Historian Lucia Tarallo-Jensen also published a lengthy piece called "Ala Wai Canal Erased Waikiki's 'Golden Era'" which lamented countless sacred places of Waikīkī that now only survive in memory—the fish ponds, the taro patches, Helumoa Heiau and the royal grove of niu trees (refer to Chapter 2) "Modern-day Waikiki, world-famous Waikiki, in its entirety, has been stripped of all of this wahi pana or 'sacred places'" (1987; Appendix A26). The piece, discussing all things gone, ends with a mention of something that remains.

> There, midst surfboards and other modern-day beach paraphernalia you will find possibly the only material thing left in Waikiki belonging to the ancient past. "The Wizard Stones"! "The Wizard Stones of Ka-pae-mahu"! WHAT MAKES these stones very, very special is that they alone survived the Americanization of Waikiki.

This publication was accompanied by a large illustration of a stream flowing from mountain peak into the kalo filled hands of Kamehameha I. This river, representing the now diverted life-force of old Waikīkī, cascades around four boulders representing the "wizard stones."

A New 'Mecca' (1997)

In 1997, Nā Pōhaku Ola would be moved for what would be the last time in the century, 90 years after they were first excavated, and this time with more intention than ever before. This move was foreshadowed by a publication two years earlier entitled, "A mele for the stones of

Kapaemāhū—Waikiki: Remembering the Stones of Kapaemāhū" (Kennedy 1995; Appendix A27). The 2-page feature was the longest newspaper article ever dedicated to the site. It also gave the most specific description to date of the stones original positions, placing two in the shallows and two on opposite banks of now gone ʻĀpuakēhau stream. This suggests that new engagements with oral traditions were uncovering revelations not previously accessed. It was the first to recall these stones as bell-rock stone, pōhaku kani or pōhaku kīkēkē, since Boyd in 1905. It was also the first in 90 years to emphasize the magnitude of difficulty involved in the stones' original setting in Waikīkī centuries ago. What it would share with earlier publications is a new-found theme of invisibility and misunderstanding:

> Today, these four huge stones resting mutely in the sand in the very center of what is probably the busiest area of Waikiki, are largely ignored by the hoards of beachgoers who swarm in and around and over their gray-brown visages each day. Amidst the crowds of sun-reddened tourists, of the kids and crying babies, of the characters with parrots, of showoffs, of cutie-pies and muscle boys, of gawkers and hawkers, and the swirls of surfers and swimmers and peaceful strollers that ebb and flow around the stones like human surf, these stones are simply part of the landscape, a bench to sit upon, a backrest, a cranny for hiding beach trash. And yet they are not quite forgotten… Unthinking people say, 'oh, they are only big rocks.' But modern society has a profound propensity for grinding down the big rocks of our past, no matter how significant they once were (1995, D8)

Kennedy concludes with a unique approach of reflexivity and historicizes his own act of writing. "A contemporary retelling of the stones tale in the newspaper is merely one form of the continuation of a very long, yet remarkably persistent pattern emerging from the shadows of Hawaii's pre-contact past. It's an electronic mele of sorts..." This article would ironically antecede a procession of new mele, ones of both cultural practice and writing.

In 1997, the project for the restoration of the pōhaku began, and the legend once again generated a news frenzy with five publications in the matter of a month. On March 7th, the *Honolulu Advertiser* published a large photo on the front-page, with no article, but a concise caption:

> Stonemason Billy Fields presents a *ho'okupu*, or offering, during a blessing ceremony for the four "Wizarding stones of Waikiki Beach… —whose proper name is Nā Pōhaku Ola o Kapaemāhū a me Kapuni… Yesterday's blessing was held in preparation for construction work that will build a raised platform and protective fence for the stones, with an interpretative sign to tell of their significance (Asato 1997; Appendix A28).

On April 2nd, the story was again featured prominently on the front-page with the headline, "Healing stones finally get some respect" and a dynamic image of one of the pōhaku strapped and suspended by a crane (Barret 1997; Appendix A29). The article stated that the project to display and enclose the stones would be completed on April 11th and that Queen Emma Foundation invested $75,000 into the move. George Kanahele's 1994 report, entitled "Restoring Hawaiianness to WAIKIKI," had been the main catalyst for the initiative. Three thousand five hundred copies of the manuscript were distributed throughout the tourism industry, legislators, builders, real-estate people, business people. It even was made "required reading for the Legislature for anyone applying for a development permit in Waikiki." Even though a crane with a 25-ton capacity was used to lift the stones, reports show that it was done with much difficulty. "Queen Emma Foundation's 143 ideas for restoring Hawaiianness to Waikiki got a tad heavy at No. 83—even for a 25-ton Grove crane, which struggled yesterday with a mystery that's baffled Hawaii for centuries." The article states that some historians consider these stones O'ahu's "Egyptian Pyramids" and the project was meant to "restore some of Waikiki's historical, cultural integrity." The foundation's special assistant, Richard Paglinawan, stated, "we want to return the *mana*… Lack of understanding has been part of the problem," Paglinawan said. "People see the stones and they just don't realize they are something sacred."

> Hilo's Papa Henry Auwae, a 91-year-old healer, fixed his focus on the stones for more than two hours yesterday, as if he were moving them with his stare. He later blessed each rock, blessed the site and blessed the very shrine that Kanahele says will become a "Mecca of sorts" for students and patients of traditional healing...Gone are the days of tourists draping wet towels over the stones. No more standing or jumping or sleeping on them. No more fast-food lunches spread across them like picnics (Barrett 1997, A11).

The project was again revisited the following Monday with an editorial that welcomed the new and old addition to the landscape:

> What the stones offer today is perspective. Hawai‘i is more than a sunny respite from harsher lands. Much of the state’s image can be duplicated around the world—anywhere there are sandy beaches, gentle winds, and friendly people. What can’t be matched is our history. The healing stones Kapaemāhū, Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi are emblems of Hawai‘i’s lore. By returning them to a prominent locale, they will serve not only as a potential meeting spot for native groups but as touchstones to the past. To many, these stones are sacred. That means they must be treated with respect. And then they will offer visitors and residents alike a connection to what Hawaii used to be (1997, *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 7; Appendix A29).

A final news publication appeared on April 20th (Krauss 1997; Appendix A31). This short piece was an interview of George Kanahele on the specific problem of the stones’ magnificent weight. “Kanahele has touched on a mystery that intrigued people for centuries. How were the monoliths of Stonehenge, the component blocks of Egyptian pyramids and the carved statues of Easter Island moved into place without benefit of cranes, wheels or motors?”

Memory in Stone

Since 1997, the place of Nā Pōhaku is a stark contrast with the place this site occupied at the time of the construction of the bowling alley. Between 1941 and the final restoration, Nā Pōhaku were moved between five and six times. Since then, countless book publications on Hawai‘i place names and sacred sites include a mention of them and they can hardly be characterized as invisible to those who work or visit Waikīkī and to those who became in engaged with the stones’ story through these journalistic materials of the 1990s. In both public memory and landscape, they are well-known among scholars of O‘ahu and Waikīkī’s history. Following 1997, the stones no longer needed full article spreads but became a fixture within broader feature pieces that sought to valorize Waikīkī. Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū became one of the essential stops in the historic trail project and notable mention in its advertising (Smyser

1999; Thompson 2002). In 2000, Kanahele wrote a feature piece of his own to bring locals back to Waikīkī (*Honolulu Advertiser*, Jul 30). He pulls the stones and legends of Waikīkī as a place of healing into his narrative stroll to reframe Waikīkī's reputation as a draining circus at odds with Kanaka Maoli cultural values. The frequency that the stones are cited in articles about Kūhiō Beach in the 2000s, if only briefly and without much explanation, shows that these stones did come to occupy a much different place in public memory (2004, *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 31; 2015, *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, October 4; Burlingame 2005, 94).

Figure 6. Table of the Distribution of Newspaper Publications 1905-2015

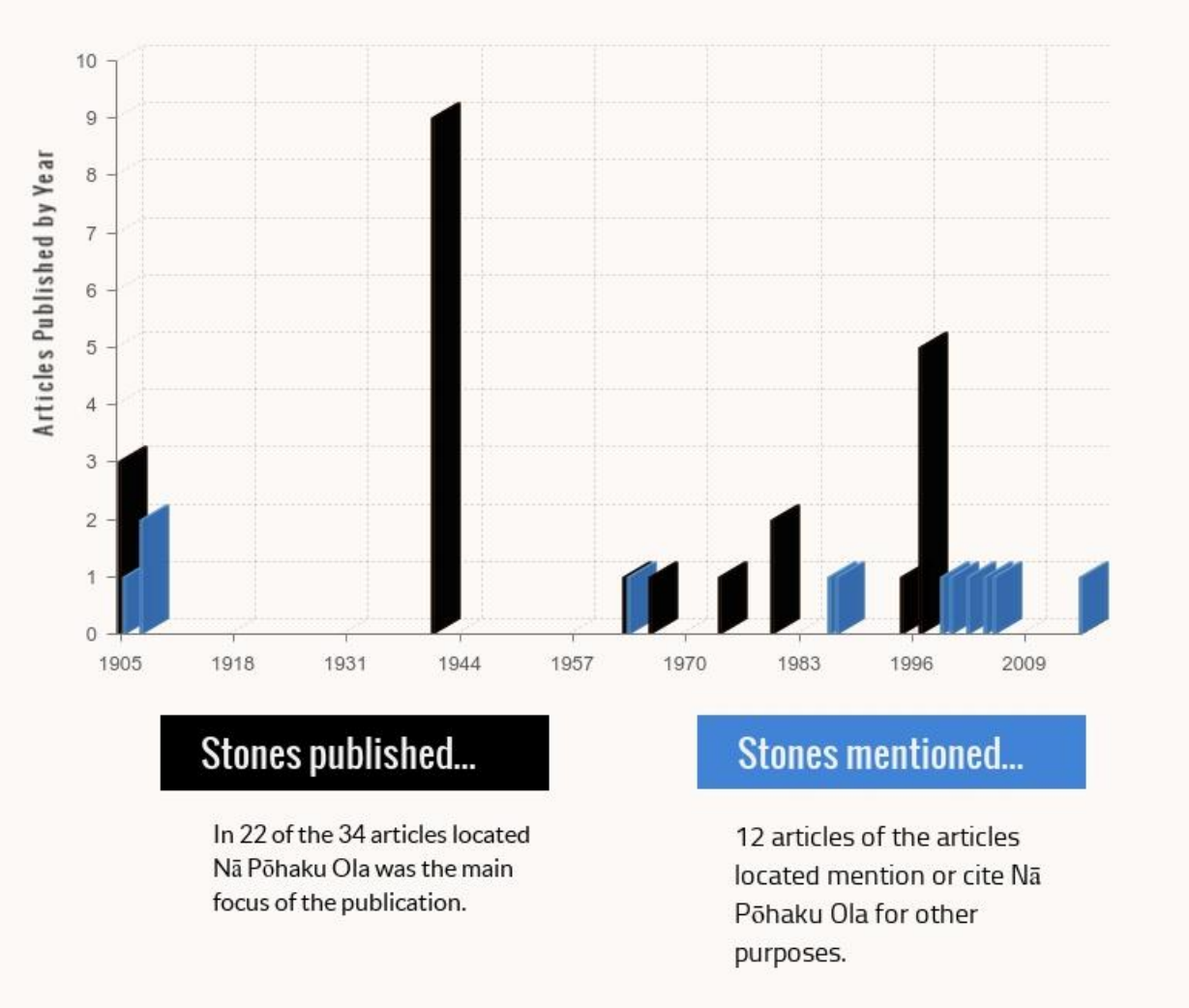
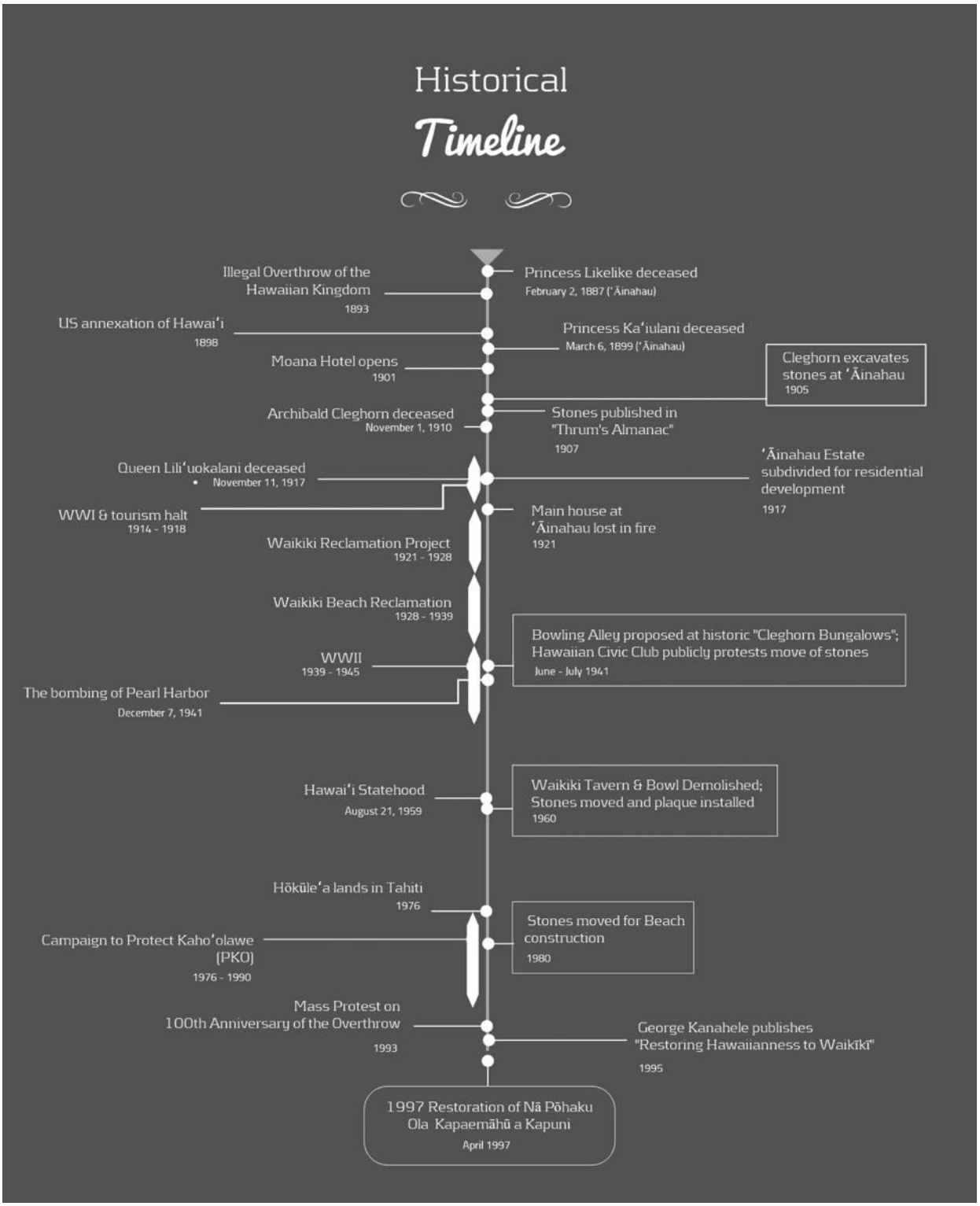


Figure 7. Historical Timeline 1887-1997



Analysis

In the legend of this cultural site, its stones are living—infused with the living and healing qualities of four teachers that came long ago. This remembered meaning of these stones is part of their vibrancy and contribution to the complex landscape of Waikīkī. However, as this chapter aimed to show, these stones can be seen to live in more than one way, particularly in how their physical locations have been settled and unsettled. As Arjun Appadurai argues, all objects have a sociality and it is in their exchange that they acquire value and meaning within their cultural contexts (1988, 6). These moments of settling and unsettling in physical space mirror the dynamic ways that the meaning of these stones have been constructed differently and for different purposes over time. In other words, the ebbing of public discourse surrounding the stones are another important way the stones are made to live. Stones often in western epistemology are the essence of stability and permanence. To say that something is written in stone is to say that something is unaffected by time, inflexible, and immovable. In contrast, attention to the uneven story of engagement and remembrance of Nā Pōhaku raises our awareness to the other ways that stones are made to live through social engagement and how their stories are circulated and made relevant in the present.

Historicizing Texts

Apparent in this body of texts is that each work represents the past through the lens of their own time. Greg Dening used "poetic for histories" to express the need to be attentive to the other modalities outside of written history in which history is practiced and constructed within other cultures and contexts (1991, 348-349). As he poignantly puts it, "'history' is not about something; it is something" (1986, 46). Chris Ballard later expanded on this idea to reapply this perspective of history as practice to the dominant form of written history and unsettle its

monopolization of objectivity. For Ballard, "historicities" reflect on the way that all historical representations are the past re-performed for the present and tied to their particular cultural and temporal moment (2014). "Historicities are not so much about the relationship between past and present, as they are about the ways in which people navigate between the demands of past and future from the perspective of a constantly shifting present" (110). Thus, all practices of histories are always political—historically and culturally bound—even in their most objective guises. This new historicism approach is also applicable here where public or official versions of Nā Pōhaku span over a significant amount of time and reveal social contexts underway.

Although focused on the dynamics of collective memory rather than historical texts, researchers in memory studies have also acknowledged this binding between the past and present. Nicole Maurantonio articulates, "memory is a dynamic entity, crafted and redrafted in dialogue with the political, social and cultural imperatives of the present" (2014, 1). In other words, "public memory has a history. Indeed, however one conceptualizes memory, scholars agree that it is *historically situated,* that both its cultural practice and intellectual status have changed over time and in different societies" (Blair et al. 2010, 10). Even when Nā Pōhaku Ola does work in indexing something ancient, other social forces can subtly be detected related to contemporary developments.

'Sacrifice and Skeletons' (1905-1907)

In returning to the earliest written accounts, which appeared in 1907 and in 1910, we observe that public discourse was focused on a particular construction of indigenous histories. Early postcolonial theorist, Edward Said, was perceptive to how Europe's colonial empires deployed discourses of "Otherness" to justify interventions all over the world (Said 1978). In

Orientalism, Said shows how control over foreign lands was gained in part through the knowledge production of the Native, which reinforced western superiority over them (1978).

Boyd's 1907 piece, however well-intentioned as documentation of folklore or history, contains glaring elements which signal the ways in which dominant paradigms of the time, particularly Euro-American, towards native representation are reproduced. It is not hard to pick out the dichotomous trope of the "noble/ignoble savage" right at the onset for, immediately, the writer makes a comparison between the legends of old Hawai'i and that of ancient Greeks. This romanticist lens is immediately juxtaposed against the description of these remembered knowledge holders as "soothsayers" and "wizards" a term that would come to stick. These terms, almost synonymous with magicians, signal a fairytale picture and a trivialization of the superstitious; a.k.a. the "native" past. This reveals a means by which Kanaka are racialized but also attributed with moral distinctions.

This process of racialization is further exemplified by the focus on "human sacrifice" that his account bears. Like the 1905 article, Boyd identifies the skeletal remains as a victim of sacrifice but this time the deceased person is confidently posited as "virtuous" and "virgin." Scholars of Hawai'i widely agree that the sacrifice of women was not done in ancient Hawai'i and additionally female remains of this kind have never been identified.[77] Notwithstanding, "virgin" and sacrifice are two tropes of Pacific representation in films of long curiosity. The first was in the play "Bird of Paradise" that toured the US continent introducing Americans to Hawaiian music between 1912-1924 (Appendix C2). It would later inspire two feature films with the same name and premise (Miller 1989, 31), the first being the 1932 black-and-white picture

[77] Teuira Henry also records that in Tahiti "only male sacrifice, human or otherwise, were supposed to be acceptable to the gods, the sole exceptions to the rule being a woman or girl who died from the black art or was slain in war time…" (1928, 198).

starring Delores del Rìos (Vidor). The 1951 version was a major Hollywood production filmed in several Hawai‘i locations, including Waikīkī and Hanalei Bay (Daves). These dramas shared the same premise of a foreigner falling for a native princess who has a doomed destiny of having to sacrifice herself to an angry volcano. Since then, the sacrificial virgin has been an enduring trope with slippery origins even up until *Joe Versus the Volcano* (Shanley 1990). Importantly, the sacrificial theme appears in Nā Pōhaku's historical texts in 1905, 1910, and in only one of the nine articles published in the summer of 1941. The remains were also briefly mentioned in 1963 but would be dropped from the record following (See Appendix D3).

These sacrificial representations also bear a gendered overtone. Pacific scholars, such as Margaret Jolly, have investigated the way that the bodies of indigenous women, through the discourse of early colonial agents, was a site of racial typification and of cultural difference and moral distinctions about the region. "'Woman' was the sign and prophetic index of the passage from savagery to civilization... Pacific women were both index of hope and portent of danger, in the uncertain path toward 'progress' that these explorers charted" (2007, 520). At the site of Kapaemāhū, the female body again becomes a site of enacting this duality as, on the one hand, she is a virtuous maiden and, on the other, a victim of a primitive society.[78] These sexualizing contradictions work in unison to further racialize the Native and Native culture and fix it in the past. Although cases of human sacrifice in old Hawai‘i did occur, the pervasion of human sacrifice in all these early accounts, and in how they stimulated public discourse, probably signals more to Victorian-era anxieties and imaginaries than it reveals any real substance about Kanaka cultural practices of old.

[78] Those familiar with Pacific film will recognize this enduring trope from *Tabu: Story of the South Seas* (Flaherty and Murnau 1931).

While empires have a diversity of tropes to call upon, perhaps the most prevailing are the intertwined images of the Vanishing Native and "terra nullius" (the portraying of native lands as empty paradises) (Byrd 2011, 122; Davis 2014, 62). It is inconsequential if the Native is pictured as noble or ignoble for both serve to fix the Native in time and empty the landscape for "discovery." As Jodi Byrd suggests, both of these discursive practices serve to scrub modern descendants and the land of any history and create the perfect arena for colonial subjects to live out their own fantasies of "becoming-savage" on stolen lands (2011, 21). Through Native American colonial history, Patrick Wolfe explains that Empire deploys a "logic of elimination" grounded in the "othering" or "racialization" of the Native (2016, 42). The seemingly contradictory logics of "assimilation" and "removal" work together to either expunge the Indian from the land or make the Indian relinquish their "Indianness" (2016, 249).

Boyd's account is an obvious case of the literary trope of the "Vanishing Native" for it writes distance between living and past indigenous peoples through both morality distinctions and its fixing of these events in a "bygone" era. The article mentions that this took place during a time when "Oahuans were supreme in their sovereignty" (Boyd 1907). It should be noted that the illegal overthrow had taken place a decade before and that intense efforts towards acculturation were underway under the Territorial government. It was also at a time when Waikīkī was already starting to become a tourist hotspot, receiving 8,000 guests a year (Chan and Feeser 2006, 141). As in many indigenous places, western representations had disastrous effects on indigenous identities and so it begs the question if there were consequences to Boyd's account. Whether meant to be accurate, innocent, or sensational, we might wonder if its focus on sacrifice was dark and unflattering to some, or if it affected how these ancient relics were valued and led to their eventual burial.

In examining these tropes, we begin to see how historical objects come to embody meanings and index a set of relationships and ideas about the past and present. Very early on, as the short article from the *Hawaiian Star* illustrates, these stones become representative of not just a distant indigenous history, but also of "Hawaiianness" generally. In this case, Nā Pōhaku are set up as a metaphor for representing Cleghorn's alliances with ali'i families and politics.[79] The news bite uses "Cleghorn's altar" as an opportunity to take a political stab but in doing so, again brings into view the linkage between racialization and moral characterization of Hawaiian culture. While this is the first occurrence, it would not be the last time that Nā Pōhaku, as historical objects, would do political work.

"The Renaissance" and New Social Currents

> *Challenging and destroying myths is not just a poetic or cultural nicety; it is a vital political project. If new futures are to be imagined and made real, old myths about the region must be burned and new myths proposed (Davis 2014, 10)*

In contrast to the representational lens at the turn of the 20th century, it is no surprise that the news publications produced from 1963 to 1997 reflect an increasing cultural awareness and a new intention for the memory and memorialization of indigenous storied places. In the 1970s, as a wave of indigenous awareness washed over the world, Kanaka Maoli undertook a cultural and political renaissance. "Beginning in 1970, the Hawaiian Movement evolved from a series of protests against land abuses, through various demonstrations and occupations to dramatize the exploitative conditions of Hawaiians, to assertions of Native forms of sovereignty based on indigenous birth rights to land and sea" (Trask 1993, 89). As Tracey Banivanua-Mar shows, in

[79] See Nicholas Thomas on how objects can come to mark not just identities within one cultural group but also group difference between cultures in their deployment in the representational productions of "others" (1991, 26).

many ways this period of reclamation was fueled by longer processes of changing global discourses for Pacific Islanders were long building avenues outside of their home islands for dissenting colonialism and creating solidarity (2016). Importantly, however, the 1960s and 1970s saw the return of World War II veterans no longer satisfied with their colonial arrangements and emerging civil rights movements on the continent where ethnic minorities were increasingly asserting their rights and cultural heritage (2016; Kanahele 1982). “The significance of the unifying concept of Blackness in this context was that it shifted the focus of decolonisation towards identity” (Banivanua-Mar 2016, 215). In addition to new collaborations with radical groups, like the Black Panthers, Pacific Islanders had seen the limitations of the “Age of Decolonization” as envisioned by United Nations which only recognized territorial sovereignty. Thus, as their sovereignties were ignored, activists in these global networks rearticulated issues of identity and land as the battleground for decolonization (2016).

These interconnected arenas of land and identity are reflected in the products of the Renaissance. On one hand, new interests focused on the revival of the arts, including Hawaiian music, hula, and traditional crafts (Kanahele 1982, 4). Popular participation also grew regarding healing traditions, such as lomilomi (Hawaiian massage) (Kanahele 1982, 28). With new attention on the value of culture, the ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) saw a resurgence of pupils after over a century of severe decline (1982, 18). These new attentions to cultural practice reflect a growing awareness that colonial perceptions sought to “fix” native cultures in time. Instead, artists and poets sought to bring Hawaiian culture out of the hotels and museums and back into their everyday lives (Wendt 1993).

The renaissance period was also characterized by a boom in literary output by Kanaka writers and a new presence of Kanaka intellectuals in the halls of higher education (Kanahele

1982, 6). Kanahele characterizes the fervor that students and professors produced as they "stampede[d] to the past," recounting how the librarians and archivists had difficulty in meeting the needs of these new crowds (1982, 19). The movement not only changed who was producing scholarly work but how indigenous research was being valued and conducted. "Not only librarians, but kūpuna are being sought out to tell what they know about events, people, songs—anything about the past" (19).

The renaissance was as much about celebrating the past as validating traditional sciences. Western scholars had long made it their prerogative to speculate and play the leading voices on theories of Pacific migration (Finney 1977). So, when the ultimate symbol of this Hawaiian golden age, the traditional waʻa (canoe) known as the Hōkūleʻa, made its landing on Tahiti in 1976, it represented an electrification of consciousness across the ocean about the genius of the ancestors. Its symbology was past and future driven, linking mythology to people and modern Kanaka Maoli struggles with Tahiti's own political and cultural revival movements of the 1960s and 1970s.[80]

The Hawaiian renaissance was a birthing of a new political as well as cultural consciousness (Osorio 2014, 137). This is evident in one of the most inspiring grassroots movements of the 1970s and 1980s, the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana ("PKO"). The reclaiming of Kahoʻolawe could not have been possible without the climate of public sympathy and the intellectual faculties that were sharpened in other arenas of this cultural wave (Banivanua-Mar 2016; Kanahele 1982). In the dimension of land, the young Kanaka Maoli activists had gained experience in local land struggles, like Kalama Valley, and were inspired by Native American

[80] Although space is not allotted here, I have also expanded discussions on Tahiti's political, social and cultural renaissances of the 1950s to 1990s in other works (PACS 603).

occupations of Alcatraz and Wounded Knee (Kajihiro 2009, 310). In the dimension of cultural knowing, the PKO asserted traditional Hawaiian religious and cultural practices as the basis of their actions (2009, 312; Trask 1993, 92). In the merging of land and cultural resiliency, Jon Osorio shows that PKO solidified cultural symbols, *Aloha ʻĀina* (Love of the Land) and *hoʻoulu lāhui* (increase the nation) and it was these conceptual continuities of PKO that "helped shape the focus and development of Hawaiian sovereignty movements since the 1980s" (2014, 139).

As shown in many facets of this cultural revival, and in both the Hōkūleʻa and at Kahoʻolawe, the Hawaiian Renaissance was a meeting of land and identity—of physical and "psychological renewal" (Kanahele 1982, 1). These dual arenas for contesting colonial constructs also appear in the public discourse surrounding Nā Pōhaku Ola following 1963. One thing that is increasingly evident after 1963, is a new view of the stones as not just historical but of cultural significance. There is a clear increase in times that the stones are characterized as "sacred," something clearly not seen in 1905. While the Hawaiian Renaissance or cultural politics are never directly referenced, it is clear that new attention to cultural practice was adding new perceptions of place to the public memory. As seen in Jindra's editorial, the stones are receding from being a landmark to something attached with not just collective but also personal meanings.

We also see after 1963, a new theme in which the stones are represented as objects that have been treated with disrespect (See Appendix D4). With one exception (1974), themes of improper treatment permeated the language of these later publications by emotively weighing the seriousness of the lore and traditions they embody with the how much is unknown and still "mysterious." This attention to cultural meaning is juxtaposed with the madness of beach traffic and narratives of rubbish and clutter sharing space with these 'living' relics.

Another emergent theme that arises in the 1980s is how the stones become representative of what is no longer visible. For journalist Lucia Tarallo-Jensen the stones are the only tangible reminder left of how Waikīkī once was, in a landscape that has become so built-up and unrecognizable (1987). After this point, Nā Pōhaku Ola no longer represented a single encounter of Tahitian healers long ago but became a relic for an entire history often forgotten (See Appendix D4). Its presence then symbolically both laments and celebrates a new appreciation and orientation to what Waikīkī is and ought to be.

Making a Monument

While this chapter has mostly been concerned with textual sources, memory studies have also given special attention to how monuments or "memory places" are also constructed and play in a role in fashioning public memory (Blair et al. 2010). In 1997, when the stones were newly restored and the plaque initially installed in 1963 was revamped, we can also see how site specialists sought to reframe the stones within a Kanaka worldview.

Concern for the stones appeared at a time where attitudes were changing toward culture and Waikīkī. Following powerful movements for cultural revival and reclaiming of sacred places, Waikīkī's industry was increasingly seen as eroding Hawaiian culture and values and, in 1994, George Kanahele produced a report for the WAIAHA Foundation entitled "Restoring Hawaiianness to Waikīkī" (1994; Kajihiro 2009). It aimed to address Waikīkī's "serious loss of Hawaiian character and identity" (1994). This progressive report raised issues of ethics and aesthetics and included many things that are now commonplace in Waikīkī's tourist landscape for nearly half of his original 144 recommendations were carried out. For number 66, Kanahele recommended designating the healers' stones and the surrounding area as a wahi pana (sacred or

storied place) (1994, 26; Pagliaro 1997, 8). "Waikīkī has been almost completely desacralized. Restoring such sites might bring back some of the mana of old" (Kanahele 1994, 26).

Like other fronts of the Hawaiian Renaissance, Nā Pōhaku Ola also work to contest western impositions on indigenous history, identities, and land. Not only were the stones moved to a more protected and revered status, but the restoration leaders also changed the name of the site to reflect a more culturally appropriate designation. By bestowing the stones with the new name, "Nā Pōhaku Ola a Kapaemāhū a Kapuni," the language of the land is returned (Pagliaro 1997, 11-12). It also removes outsiders as the sole "consumers" of the memorial—an orientation that reinforces the "vanishing" quality of island histories.[81] Shown here is how making history and culture visible changes a "sense of place" and counters the invisibility of the Native (Kanahele 1991b, 1).

All of these examples show the complex interplay between recovering place and identity and help to illuminate that the work that these stones play, even as they go unnoticed by some, is not benign or ornamental. First, it proves that ancient Kanaka Maoli were not without complex knowledge systems and second, that they have been on this landscape, changing it and living with it for hundreds of years. This landscape is far from an "empty paradise," and this wahi pana

[81] Indigenous community initiatives, including those aimed at confronting colonial histories through the remapping of public spaces and the memorialization of place, often communicate a strong connection between visibility and the power of language. For example, Stephen Langdon and Aaron Leggett discuss the historical and spatial erasure of the presence of indigenous Dena'ina in the area of Anchorage, Alaska's most populated metropole, and document a student-driven project to change that legacy (2009). In a collaborative effort, local students analyzed indigenous representations or lack thereof and used their findings to produce substantial and cross-culturally communicative signage in recognition of Dena'ina heritage on the physical landscape. "The Dena'ina have reached a place where we feel comfortable sharing our history of what we know about this landscape and how it has shaped who we are as a people. In other words, to borrow a phrase from a distinguished—elder, we are no longer satisfied with being the "invisible people." We have a story to tell here about our land. But it is more than that; I think finally people are starting to realize the depth that we can bring to the table… This I think is a huge step forward and through the class, we reinforce something that has been beneath the surface waiting to be exposed for far too long" (174).

destabilizes US occupation. Third, the stones create a place that practitioners can intimately engage with history—contesting the idea that culture is a fixed object, rather than something that is alive. [82]

Collective Forgetting

The value of these publications on Nā Pōhaku Ola is accessed through paying attention not only what sticks in public memory over time but also in what comes to be omitted. This is what can be called the "politics of memory." "Just as there are modes of remembering, there are modes of forgetting. Forgetting can be directed by the state, can emanate from what may be seen as pure interests, can emerge from lack of information, or can be a form of "planned obsolescence" (Maurantonio 2014). In the case of this site, many details of the story are replayed time and time again, but other details recede. We have seen this in the focus and then the omission of the "sacrificial remains." We also see this in 1974 where the article completely omits any mention of the stones being moved in 1907, 1941 or 1963 as if their position was completely authentic. These patterns are just a few examples of the power of what is unsaid in these historical representations.

Genealogy of Resistances

A surprising omission found across the historical representations published after 1941 is a complete lack of mention of the protests and news coverage that appeared in that year. This exclusion is surprising given that 1941 contained nine consecutive newspaper publications, more than any other year to date. Nevertheless, this year's discourses disrupt the usual narrative that

[82] Further discussions could include engagement with Elizabeth Povinelli's discussions on "geontologies" (2016).

depicts the desire to restore sacred places only within the politically charged movements of the 1970s. Like Tracey Banivanua-Mar who shows that the legacy of decolonization in the Pacific was part of much longer processes (2016), we might too see that the stones' restoration is part of a more extended genealogy of resistance. Further, the invisibility that befell the stones in the 1950s did not happen without push back. From the historical record, it is hard to determine whether these protests were successful or not and it is important to note that the bombing of Pearl Harbor occurred only six months later. As Jon Osorio writes, the events of WWII had profound effects on the psyche of Hawai'i, remapping its place and identities around these official histories of war (2010). These omissions raise more questions than answers, but they are an essential part of what makes the collective memory of this site. This lack of engagement with 1941 might be an occurrence of how the digitization of newspaper sources can reveal previously overlooked events. Or, might we question who is made complicit in the burial of these historic stones if a general forgetfulness is laid to blame?

The Case of Māhū Censorship

Any mention of the politics of memory and Nā Pōhaku would be remiss without a discussion on the important story of indigenous gender identity politics of the 1990s. Today, community experts say that the stones themselves inhabit the spirits of both genders in their form. However, the preservation of this aspect has not always been made central (See Appendix 2). It was first discussed in Boyd that the healers were unsexed—even stating that they were hermaphrodites, describing their stature and grace (1907). They were described as "unsexed" again in 1941. But by 1963, when the stones were plaque by the city the article described them as "tall, handsome, and soft spoken." In 1980, Leatrice Ballesteros (Pele devotee) was interviewed and shared differing perspectives of the gender of the stones. She stated that the stones were two

male (including an evil one) and two females. Most shocking is that in 1995, they were described simples as “four men.” From that article until now only one article has attempted to do the justice of the Boyd’s account in newspaper print. This is the 1997 article in which Kanahele describes the discovery of a possible causeway in ancient Waikīkī that might explain the transportation path of the stones. It diverges with an elaboration of how visiting Raiāteans at the 1997 restoration illuminated the gendered nature of the persons. Kanahele deliberately specifies that their gender was separate from that of homosexual. These sanitations or the nature of the details cast aside for the limited pages of newspaper print lends speculation to the obvious effect of Americanization on ideologies regarding gender and sexuality.

The four pōhaku also have become a symbol and fixture of identity for Maoli transgendered persons. As Maria Shireen Kalaʻiākea Mehr shows us, transgendered persons are one of the most vulnerable populations in Hawaiʻi’s society (2016, 7). The current marginalization and stigmatization that exists against transgender persons in the Anglo-American two-gender framework is yet another cultural legacy of colonialism (Ellingson & Odo 2008). In recent times, the term māhū has gone from a derogatory term to a reclaimed identification for transgendered persons. The renewed interest in Hawaiian religion and arts in the 1970s also sparked a slow rise in the integrity of the word māhū as transgendered and non-transgendered began to explore how māhū were important role models in traditional Hawaiian society (Matzner 2001). “It wasn’t until the late 1990s that māhū themselves began to organize for their rights within the larger context of the Hawaiian cultural awakening” (15). In conjunction with the

social developments, this site's transformation, like the transformation of the word māhū, works to provide a healthier self-perception of Hawai'i's past and future.[83]

Conclusions: Making Waikīkī Safe for Development

This chapter offered a look at a particularly dynamic period of Nā Pōhaku Ola's legacy—the legacy of stones that move, that are forgotten and remembered, that are displaced and re-placed, and stones that are written and revised. Despite that at times these stones were characterized as "lost," mysterious," or "forgotten" and that parts of their story do get murky, this body of written material demonstrates that these stones were never truly "unknown." They were always present and never invisible. They were also never really disconnected to the ongoings and imaginings of Waikīkī.

These news publications, as platforms for social discourse, circulate how Nā Pōhaku was shaped, reshaped and deployed to mediate political moments, ideologies about identity, and memory. In the publications of the 20th century, we have seen that the stones had been attached with various social meanings, first as Cleghorn's "sacrificial altar" and then later as a consequential casualty to "20th century progress." Later, it would be a touchstone, a final reminder, or a site of cultural revitalization for indigenous history. In 1997, when the site was rewritten into a new type of monument, raised to be protected above the passerby's gaze rather than below, it carved out a permanent place and new "perspective" in the same exclusive real estate that it had been shifted out of sight from just over half a century before.

[83] N.b. An animated film about these stones is forthcoming from director Dean Hamer with Kumu Hula Hina Wong. This is just another example of the many mele forms in which this site has been cared for and an example of the futurity of this site as a piece of history.

This chapter was also about the political dynamics of memory and how historical representations are never neutral and shape how we see ourselves and our landscapes. And so, this story Nā Pōhaku documents centuries long tensions between forces that might be loosely called “traditionalists” and other forces. These cultural defenders or activists have a long genealogy although this hasn’t always been remembered, starting with Cleghorn, followed by the Hawaiian Civic Club in 1941, cultural activists in 1980, and all the way up until 1997. These social forces reflected on to our historic places, and back onto us, are part of the lives of stones.

I would also like to acknowledge that in some way my own representation of historical events will likely at some point reveal something about myself and my own time for, even with more space allotted, all histories are partial creations. For all shortcomings I own and apologize.

While this close reading of newspaper publications has been fruitful for looking at public memory, there are few limitations to consider. One aspect neglected here and not readily accessible in the written text is the way that stones change us. Scholars point out that although objects are made and used in the context of human society, objects also can change and form society in unexpected ways. “As objects begin to take on agency, the dominant divides between subjects and objects and between ideality and materiality are inevitably called into question” (Engeström and Blackler 2005, 309). While this chapter does not focus on this, it’s equally important to consider how these stones play a role in orienting us. Stones are not inanimate in this sense for they form the landscape and they impact our experience of it. It would be remiss to ignore that during the 17-year period when the stones were buried out of sight, they were not a topic of talk. And when they were rediscovered in the 1960s, they would catch the attention of prominent thinkers like Mary Kawena Pukui and later George Kanahele. Perhaps we should ask what role that the stones themselves had in claiming a space to be remembered. And, my most

burning personal question, if the stones had really been forgotten, what did it feel like in 1962 to realize that, in the rubble of a construction site, something real, historical, and huge was looking back at you?

A second limitation of looking at widely circulated materials is that it only can be used to talk about public memory. However, I would like to make note that memories and experiences of place are not monolithic and are often very personal. Anon Confino argues a focus on collective memory is useful for revealing political discourses but it consequently "underplay[s] the social" (1997, 1394). As a result, "we miss a whole world of human activities that cannot be immediately recognized (and categorized) as political, although they are decisive to the way people construct and contest images of the past" (Confino 1997 in Maurantonio 2014, 8). With this in mind, Chapter 4 invites a look at how this cultural site is made contemporary and engaged with as an intercultural site beyond the confines of text.

CHAPTER 4. PERFORMING FOR STONES

In the previous chapters, I have presented a detailed story about Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni to lead us to better understand how important this site is as an object of history. We have visited the profoundly cultural and legendary story of Nā Pōhaku which conveys the importance of this site in maintaining and perpetuating Maoli epistemologies and oral traditions. We also visited Nā Pōhaku Ola and its intersections with written history. These previous chapters, which braid several strands of this ʻaha (cord), bring us to a deeper understanding of the now. Personal experience led me on this journey through the many threads of this site, and I come full circle to consider why it is so crucial with a reflection of how I also became part of this entanglement.

Two years ago, I knew nothing of this site. In 2017, when the Hōkūleʻa came back to Oʻahu for the first time in three years, I sat with four Tahitian ladies (both visiting and longtime residents) under a tree taking in all the excitement of the day. It was from this instance, and from my positionality as a diasporic Tahitian in Hawaiʻi nei, I would overhear how these women were involved in the doing of some important "work" at four pōhaku stones between Maoli and Mā'ohi worlds. I wondered why the excitement of the Hōkūleʻa was spilling onto this particular site. It was through this everyday moment with family in which I unknowingly began to search out all the aspects of this story.

Other chapters here have sought to highlight different ways that people mālama (care for) this site and we have come across written histories, newspaper publications, poetry, and public protest. This chapter looks at ritual and protocol as a strategy, or medium, of the now that continues to invigorate the relationship between sacred sites and the people that value them. In

doing so, this chapter draws from personal recollections from 2017 and May 2018, and personal communications with a few site participants.[84]

The Mele of Cultural Protocol/Ritual/Ceremony

Cultural protocol (a code of correct conduct), which we may also refer to as ritual or ceremony, are fundamental forms of cultural practice in many indigenous cultures, including Hawai‘i. Hawaiian ritual practices are grounded in traditions of Hawaiian religion and epistemologies. “The purpose and function of Hawaiian protocol are deeply rooted in the cultural and spiritual belief of mana—supernatural or divine power” (Crabbe 2002). As one among many other forms of embodied knowledge, [85] cultural protocols are essential to those that maintain them. In most cases, these traditions survived orally in families despite generations of cultural trauma such as mass deaths due to introduced diseases in the 1800s, Christianization, urbanization, and the ongoing destruction of sacred sites. It is no surprise then that cultural protocol or religious ceremonies have been used for doing critical identity work for countering the psychological dimensions of colonialism. As part of the 1970s cultural and political consciousnesses to both land dispossession and cultural practice, there was also new efforts to reclaim ritual protocols. We see this in a number of movements, including PKO (See Chapter 2). Davianna McGregor takes extensive care to name the numerous significant kūpuna that aided the restoration of cultural practices on Kaho‘olawe (2007).

> The reestablishment of the Makahiki and other Native Hawaiian cultural and religious ceremonies and practices on Kanaloa was the most significant outcome of the movement to stop the bombing of Kanaloa. These ceremonies and practices reconnected a

[84] N.b. the events mentioned here are only one particular kind of protocol encounter worth exploring at this site and is owed to my own positionality. Further exploration of other kinds of protocol events not specific to Maoli and Mā’ohi encounters would be valuable in future research. However, attention to that ritual and protocols are often intimate and personal experiences is needed. These practices are part of the communities that they belong and should only be written without consent and sensitivity.

[85] Dance and martial arts are just two examples of “embodied knowledges.”

> generation of Native Hawaiians with their ancestors and their soul as a people. The revival of these religious ceremonies deserves special attention (2007, 270).

For McGregor, the kūpuna and community elders with these skills formed a main component of what made this struggle successful and would allow future generations to perpetuate its spiritual and historical significances (2006, 270).[86]

We also see the role of ceremonies in civil disobedience and protest in the formation of the Pele Defense Fund in 1985. This organization was formed by religious practitioners and descendants of Pele in response to a geothermal project in the rainforest reserve of Wao Kele o Puna (McGregor and Aluli 2014). Ceremonies were used on several occurrences where hundreds of practitioners trespassed and built altars right atop the drill site (193). This movement was finally successful in March 1994 when True/Mid Pacific Geothermal withdrew from the project. This strategy of ritual engagement with the forest was not only a legal framework in favor of access rights, but a cultural and spiritual framework of rekindling connections between Pele, her descendants, and the forest (Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina 1989).[87] We still see these strategies in modern political movements in which Kanaka Maoli seek to control the destiny of their ancestral lands, such as in the fight to Protect Mauna Kea (Crabbe 2002).[88]

Cultural protocol is also a point of action in the realm of personal and community health and well-being. In particular, scholars and filmmakers in Hawaiʻi are increasingly attentive to

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[86] McGregor further highlights how rural areas where many of these knowledgeable people were from provided cultural havens for these practices to be relatively protected over generations. These "kīpuka," or "oases" of culture, can be seen as the origins of the intellectual spores that would nourish and lead to regeneration in other places throughout the islands, like Kahoʻolawe (2006).

[87] See also in this film *Pele's Appeal* master of healing Papa Henry Auwae and the influence he had within this movement (Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina 1989).

[88] Despite the successes of these events of activism, Puna Geothermal Venture was completed and provided power to Hawaiʻi Island between 2008 and 2018. However, Tūtū Pele and her lava activities destroyed Puna Geothermal facilities in June/July 2018, reigniting the debate surrounding the environmental risks and community concerns of the project (Perez 2018).

cultural or ceremonial performances as a form of self-transformation and rehabilitation. Kanaka anthropologist Ty Tengan explores in his foundational work, *Native Men Remade,* the role of ritual in the men's cultural group, known as the Hale Mua. He shows that these communities, organized around the study of lua (Hawaiian martial arts), "provide Hawaiian men with a cultural foundation through ritual, martial arts, and other practice" (2005, 6). Additionally, the newly released feature film, *Out of State,* brings to light the healing and guidance that some Kanaka inmates in an Arizona penitentiary gain from practicing their culture as a community behind bars (2017). In both of these cases, performances of culture are used to articulate a sense of past, present, and future, and are stages for effecting individual and community change.

We see in other ongoing works the irreplaceable role of cultural protocol in modern indigenous education. For example, Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua discusses how educators at the charter school, Hālau Kū Māna, have made efforts with their students to reestablish loʻi and ʻauwai (taro fields and water irrigation ditches) in the upper portion of the ahupuaʻa of Waikīkī (2009). This restoration work aims to not only improve the ecological health of the area and teach traditional land management practices, it is part of the educators' goals to teach ecological sustainability to students. These kumu recognize that environmental degradation and a decline in connection to land go hand in hand. Thus, instilling a culturally based spiritual framework is just as important as the physical labor of restoring the ʻauwai and loʻi. In doing so, this group of educators has made the use of regular cultural protocols as one of their four "non-negotiable" educational tools for cultivating a spiritual and ethic practice. "Regular and consistent protocols, including oli and pule recognizing our genealogical connection to place, remind us who we are as ʻŌiwi and honor the sanctity of life manifest in the world around us. This is a practice of mahalo (gratitude)" (2009, 69).

Hālau ʻŌhiʻa is an organization that has made a case for ritualism as a method in Hawaiʻi's natural science fields. In the article, "Ritual + Sustainability Science? A Portal into the Science of Aloha," the members of Hālau ʻŌhiʻa explore with kumu hula, Kekuhi Kealiikanakaoleohaililani, how ritual fits into the professional conduct in the science of sustainability, natural resource management, and nature conservation (2018, 2). "Spiritual approaches rooted in the practice of Hawaiʻi ritual provide a powerful portal to revealing, supporting, and enhancing our collective *aloha* (love, fondness, reciprocity, as with a family member) for and dedication to the places and processes that we steward" (1). Rather than seeing empirical approaches in conflict with indigenous ways of knowing, Hālau ʻŌhiʻa positions ritual practice as a way of merging these professional and collective obligations. "Engaging in, practicing, and performing these rituals helps us to embody the idea that we are not separate from (as humans) or in control of (as managers) these places, but that we are enmeshed" (12). What makes Hālau ʻŌhiʻa's work so powerful is the effortless merging of anthropological insights on ritual with longstanding indigenous reflections.

These examples illustrate how rituals and ceremonies are critical forms of cultural expression and powerful tools for interfacing with the world. Protocol practices are also places for interfacing with other Pacific islanders, indigenous and non-indigenous communities around the world. We see this intercultural quality of protocol in the travels of Hōkūleʻa. Billy Richards, a member and practitioner of lua (Hawaiian martial arts) reminisces to *Hanahou* magazine how he was a crewmember in Hōkūleʻa's early days and how warriors would ceremonially greet them wherever they landed (Sodetani 2003). At this time, members on the Hōkūleʻa were not able to properly respond, so when Richards found lua later, in 1994, he describes it "like finding that missing piece of the puzzle." In 1995, when voyaging canoes sailed to Hawaiʻi from the

Marquesas and Cook Islands, “lua pa members were finally able to come out and greet them with haka challenges of their own” (Sodetani 2003).

Between the years of 2014 and 2017, when the Hōkūleʻa circumnavigated the globe, the wide documentation of cultural protocols and exchanges show that these practices remain a central strategy of engaging with other groups (ʻŌiwi TV 2014). One such recorded moment is Hōkūleʻa’s visit to Papenoʻo Valley, the home of Tahiti’s traditional navigation vessel the Fa’afā’ite.

> Our kupuna left us cultural treasures for us here on land like these marae. These marae are waʻa as well, waʻa on land but waʻa nonetheless. They are spiritual waʻa that connect us, and carry us, to our kupuna,” said Matahi Tutavae, president of the Tahitian voyaging canoe Fa’afā’ite… The crew was fortunate to embark on this vessel, bringing gifts or prayer and chanting. These may seem like unusual tasks for sailors but are common practice for this crew (ʻŌiwi TV 2014).

This moment was far from the first exchange between Kanaka Maoli and Papenoʻo Valley for, as discussed earlier, Kānaka Maoli participated and played an integral role in Mā’ohi cultural revival movements and reclamation of protocol there in the early 2000s (See Chapter 2).

Beyond the Press (1997)

I would learn early on in my research journey that Mā’ohi had been engaging with this site alongside Kanaka Maoli at least since the restoration efforts of 1997. While these engagements did not make it into the newspapers, they were documented in a report prepared by Emily Pagliaro with Fields Masonry. This company, operated by the skillful dry mason Billy Fields, led the restoration construction (1997). This detailed report provides historical background and photographic documentation of the laying of the foundation for the pōhaku as well as details about cultural protocols and preparations done by site planners. In particular, Papa Henry Auwae, a very influential healer and educator of lāʻau lapaʻau (traditional healing),

ritually guided the excavation and restoration (Chan and Feeser 2006, 79).[89] A 2012 article in the *Waikiki Visitor* states, "the movement [of the stones] was led by kupuna and cultural practitioner Richard Paglinawan under the spiritual guidance of Papa Henry Auwae *po'okela* (master) of *la'au lapa'au* for all of Hawai'i" (Reynolds 2012). With extensive community involvement, part of Auwae's spiritual strategies was to plan the phases of construction around the Hawaiian lunar calendar (Pagliaro 1997, 10).

The presence of a Tahitian delegation at the ceremony was another way of officializing this wahi pana. In this report, it states that these Mā'ohi visitors were present when the stones were bestowed with their new name, Nā Pōhaku Ola a Kapaemāhū a Kapuni, and participated in the agreement that it was more appropriate than "Wizarding Stones of Waikīkī." "During the ceremony, the Tahitians gave their approval for the restoration work and blessed the stones with miri (basil), a Tahitian cleansing herb. Through their participation, the Tahitians raised our awareness of the cross-cultural significance of the healers and their legacy" (1997, 11).

The guests from Ra'iātea also brought with them a peculiar cylindrical shaped stone as ho'okupu (an offering). "They brought a stone... from Moa'ulanuiakea (Ra'iātea), the land from which the healers had come centuries ago" (1997, 11). This stone was placed on the stone altar constructed within the site's gated space and still remains there today. The plaque installed in 1997 reads that this ho'okupu was given the name Ta'ahu Ea, or "the life" (Appendix C12). While not all the Tahitian visitors are named, the report states that cultural historian Pierre Sham Koua was a leading figure of the delegation (Pagliaro 1997, 11). Unfortunately, he passed away in 1995. Koua's life-work in raising the importance of indigenous sites and fostering Pan-

[89] See films *The Hawaiian Art of Healing: Henry Auwae, kahuna lā'au lapa'au* and *Pele's Appeal* (Nā Maka o ka 'Āina 1991; 1989).

Polynesian connections is commemorated in his community on Ra'iātea with a stone memorial (*Tahiti Heritage* n.d. e.). Today, the site continues to be cared for by the late Papa Henry Auwae's disciples and the Queen Emma Foundation in conjunction with the Hyatt Waikīkī Hotel, as part of Kanahele's recommended "adopt-a-wahi-pana" program. Due to unforeseen events and time constraints, voices from these leading organizations were not included at this time. Further exploration of other kinds of protocol events would be valuable in future research.

Twenty Years Later (2017)

In 1997, the Tahitian delegation that was in attendance and participated in the ritual played a role in re-inscribing the crossing of the ancient tahu'a that this site commemorates. However, this story of blooming reappreciation does not end here. In 2017, twenty years after this careful series of ceremonies were carried out, Maoli and Mā'ohi practitioners convened again to reinvigorate the site with their blessings. One site participant shared with me, "Today, there is the Tahitian protocol and Hawaiian protocol."[90] The Hawaiian protocol is done by the contemporary group of Papa Henry Auwae disciples. A few notable persons in attendance for the Tahitian delegation were Tahiti's Minister of Culture, Heremoana Maamaatuiahutapu, Captain Diana Teriiero'oitera'i, Master Navigator Jean-Claude of Tahiti's va'a, the Fa'afaite, and others. Reminiscent of 1997, the Tahitian delegation made a recommendation that 'autī (tī) could be planted within the site's enclosure. When asked about the purpose of this particular gathering, one participant said that it was part of the work to "open the port" in preparation of the arrival of the vaʻa on the last leg of their journey.

[90] From personal correspondence with Hiʻinani Blakesley.

Visits from Opoa (2018)

In May of 2018, I was fortunate to be in attendance at another occurrence in which Maoli and Māʼohi met with Nā Pōhaku Kapaemāhū. Thirty school children between the ages of 9 and 11 came from Opoa, Raʼiātea for a week-long field trip to visit Kamehameha Schools. It was part of their first time to Hawaiʻi and for many of them was the farthest they had ever been from home. For the children, visiting Hawaiʻi in many ways was about for the first time seeing an Americanized place. However, it was also about visiting with another Pacific place which they have learned they were intimately tied. The first day they arrived, their teacher arranged for them to visit the pōhaku and do an exchange with a local kumu.[91] Also in attendance were several diasporic community leaders who each played various parts in supporting this passage of children, hosting dinners, and looking after them while they were there.

At the onset of the ceremony, the kumu of Hawaiʻi silently and mentally prepared by setting the intention for the engagement. During this time, his family assisted in tying his ʻahu (cloth) and preparing a ʻumeke of sea water used in purification. He then walked with his family around the outside of the stone enclosure addressing the stones directly until they were face to face with the visiting children. Greetings were then exchanged in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi and English, followed by the kumu of Raʼiātea responding in reo Tahiti (Tahitian language). One of the young girls of Raʼiātea performed an ʻōrero with poise which was closed by a ʼori (dance) involving all the children to the song "Raʼiātea"—in honor of their home island. Afterwards, the kumu of Hawaiʻi continued necessary protocol for acknowledging and closing the engagement with the four stones that presided over this meeting. This day was like any other day in Waikīkī. Tourists swarmed as usual around the beach path some stopping to video this strange interaction and

[91] Anonymity preferred.

cultural display. Nobody, not the children or adults, paid them any attention—there was "work" being done.

Nā Pōhaku Ola as Ritual Space

Perspectives in ritual studies show that moments of ritual have a profound place in our social world. They transmit cultural knowledge and practices and communicate shared ideas about social beliefs and systems. Ritual moments index a set of relationships both between people and place and thus have the potential to bring about shared, collective experiences. Rituals are acknowledged too as having transformative qualities on their participants. The following section illustrates how a number of these powers of ritual can be found in the space of Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū a Kapuni.

An Ancestral Library: The transmission of Cultural Knowledge

Protocol, like all verbal art forms, encodes cultural knowledge and is simultaneously the embodiment of that knowledge. We might better understand this by looking at the way rituals make room for indigenous languages to be spoken in a formal setting. It is also the performance of indigenous languages that makes room for the embodied knowledge of culturally appropriate speech to be practiced and maintained. The space and attention that oral speech, like ʻōrero demands is one such example.

As David Hanlon points out, other cultures have other ways of "doing history" (2003) and one of these ways is through performance. These performances also inscribe and transmit the legend of the long-past healers in different ways than a bronze plaque does. This significance of history was expressed by the kumu from Ra'iātea who began his ʻōrero with "'Oa'oa te 'a'au." (my heart is happy). He expressed his thanks and emphasized that not long ago no one believed

their common ancestors came (purposefully) to Hawai‘i from Tahiti. “Now the children of Ra’iātea are here in Hawai‘i... The people did not believe, but we know.”

Finally, engagement with this site works to pass on less detectable epistemologies. To say that protocol is “an alternative form of indigenous education and research” (Rewi 2006, 157) is to recognize these different dimensions of protocol to encapsulate a nexus of indigenous ways of knowing. In these ways, we might think of Nā Pōhaku Ola as an ancestral library, and moments of protocol are a powerful way of accessing this library of histories and cultural truths. The importance of sharing this site with children should further allude that this site is a tool of transmission. The kumu from Ra’iātea spoke with the kumu from Hawai‘i at the end of the ceremony and apologized if the children had changed the usual ceremony. In response, the kumu said, “children are important... they can’t understand everything but leaders like us must share what we can.”

Effecting Community

Studies of ritual often point out the role of ritual in creating a sense of connectedness or collectivity among participants. Those in performance studies note that all moments are potential “transactions in which an individual or group is officially accepted or reintegrated within a community” (van Gennep 1960 as cited in Duranti 1992, 683). Other studies on formal and heightened moments, like rituals, assign this power to a mutual cultural understanding and collaboration between performer and audience.

> Rituals are episodes of repeated and simplified cultural communication in which the direct partners to a social interaction, and those observing it, share a mutual belief in the descriptive and prescriptive validity of the communication’s symbolic contents and accept the authenticity of one another’s intentions. It is because of this shared understanding of intention and content, and in the intrinsic validity of the interaction that rituals have their effect and affect. Ritual effectiveness energizes the participants and attaches them to each other (Alexander 2004, 529).

Hālau ʻŌhiʻa also describes this potential of ritual as a means to "deepen our kinship relationships" (2018, 3). In intercultural ritual encounters, this sense of collectivity is still true despite representing two different groups, especially for protocols designed to be an interface between hosts and visitors (Rewi 2006). This connectivity was expressed in two sentiments shared in 2018: first that some are "deaf to our connections," and second, "hō'ē reo, hō'ē nūnaʻa, hō'ē tupuna." (One language, one people, one ancestor).

Bringing Place to Life

Interconnectedly to the power of ritual to affirm genealogies between people, rituals are equally important in the affirmation to place. Ritual provides means to "identify, engage, and express gratitude to and *aloha* for the diverse linkages that sustain us physically (evolutionarily, nutritionally, biogeochemically), mentally (psychologically, professionally, academically), and spiritually (our relationships and ancestral connections to persons and places)" (Kealiikanakaoleohaililani et al. 2018, 3). We see this in the examples of Kahoʻolawe and Wao Kele o Puna where rituals do not just call upon place as a site of ritual occurrence, but spiritually as living forces intimately engaging with the people that address them. I argue that in the case of ritual engagement at stone sites like Nā Pōhaku, the living spirits of the stones are also addressed. In this space, the stones too are audience members and participants in observance of these cultural performances. Thus, epistemological approaches to stones are an equally activated dimension in this acknowledgment of place.

Rituals also have a purpose of bringing into connection very distant places as well. One great example is the stone of hoʻokupu brought in 1997 and that still resides as the site today. It's path of travel from Ra'iātea to Waikīkī re-enacts the navigation lines of the healers that came long ago and reaffirms the cross-cultural connections that Nā Pōhaku memorializes. This stone

forms an invisible umbilical cord between the present place and a place unseen and thus spiritually binds them in memory. On the other hand, this stone too represents the epistemological linkage between pōhaku and "life" not just in its namesake but in its mobility as a stone born in one place and living in another.[92]

In Hōkūleʻa's circumnavigation, we see another occurrence of voyaging stones. Tahiti and Ra'iātea were the first ports that the vaʻa arrived, and years later, they were the last destinations before it turned north to Hawai'i. Along the way, the crew had some special guests in haul. "The Hawaii canoe crews also returned to the Taputapuātea temple two pohaku, or stones, that locals there had given them to sail in the Hōkūleʻa around the world, collecting the mana, or spirit, of each port it visited" (Honoré 2017). We might point out how these stones represent the entirety of Ra'iātea being carried along this journey. We also must acknowledge how these stones now have a life story like no other and one that needs to be passed along so it is not ever forgotten.

Conclusions

Throughout this investigation of Nā Pōhaku Ola, we have engaged with a diversity of ways in which people mālama (care for) this wahi pana. On the one hand, we have explored a library of written texts, newspapers, and poems. We have encountered the traces of community protest in which the stones were defended. We've also encountered a record of the stones being physically dug up and moved. Finally, in this chapter, we have looked at cultural protocol, especially in the context of intercultural spaces. This new form of care, in the welcoming of distant cousins, the exchange of songs, and speeches, as Kennedy (1995) reminds, is new but

[92] Future studies might include a comparative of stones with legacies of mobility.

definitively old.[93] This display of care is the closest to what we might imagine happened long "before the reign of Kākuhihewa" (Hollingsworth 1941). These acts are not a show of cultural politics. They are the acts that exist at ancient tupuna crossings.

Manulani Meyer evokes the concept of "muliwai" to talk about the place where theory meets practice. In this place where the sea meets freshwater and fish gather, "there is life there" (2003, viii). While the ʻĀpuakēhau stream no longer flows above ground, this site still sits in the healing brackish waters of where Haumea was born. In these interactions between Hawaiian and Tahitian practitioners, ancestral kinships and 21st-century networks of solidarity form a new ʻaha (braided cord)—uniting Tahiti and Hawaii, present and past, land and sea, with words and stone.

[93] "A contemporary retelling of the stones tale in the newspaper is merely one form of the continuation of a very long, yet remarkably persistent pattern emerging from the shadows of Hawaii's pre-contact past. It's an electronic mele of sorts..." (Kennedy 1995).

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has attempted the challenge of revealing the genealogy of Nā Pōhaku Ola a Kapaemāhū a Kapuni, a site that sits every day in the glaring Waikīkī sun and yet at times seems just out of view. I hope that I have laid to bear the momentous weight of these four stones as a wahi pana, a cultural keystone place, a historical object, as a monument, a place of cultural expression, revitalization and cross-cultural moments. When I set out on this research journey, I had an itch that there was something else to be explored in terms of how these stones were made to live and that Mā'ohi persons were a part of this story in some way. I did not anticipate the depth of this site, the multiple facets, and dimensions that I would need to navigate. I found this work to be a practice of lei making, fashioning the pieces of what I know to be into an act of appreciation. I also saw it as an act of recounting genealogy as I found how I fit into the world, how these stones fit into my life, how they called and became relevant me. The work I have done here was also meant to reflect my respect of other genealogies of knowledge in other important realms that I do not have a genealogy to. I hope that I have caused no harm in the realms I have or have not touched on here.

Stones in Our Image

This thesis explored the fluidity by which these stones came to be valued over time. Since their excavation in 1907, these stones have been attributed with different meanings connected to what place indigenous histories have in the present and as such have communicated various ideas about identity and community connectedness. Nā Pōhaku is also a site of contested memory, particularly as it interacts with the developmental history of Waikīkī. At different moments in which the stones come into view, their discussions reflect different stakeholders with varying perspectives on what memories of Waikīkī should remain on the landscape. In the changing

contexts of the 1970s, the stones would also become a site of revitalization in which the place of Kanaka Maoli discussions of indigenous knowledge and politics of space would accumulate. These would articulate the physical and intellectual composition of the stones' restoration in 1997.

But this site never ceases to be a contestable space. Sally Promey, in her volume *Sensational Religion,* adds another critical point that relates to cultural ownership and authority (2014). While she celebrates such monument collaborations between governmental agencies and cultural practitioners, she critiques specifically the National Parks services "against the backdrop of immensely complex histories of American imperialism (political, religious, cultural and commercial)."

> NPS signage, marked to signal that the land is the property of the US Department of Interior, also claims custodial authority of the land and its Native Hawaiian spiritualities for the United States... In one strategic maneuver, the NPS offers and professes, connection, accommodation, and atonement—as well as appropriation (643).

This point is important for recognizing the possible ambivalence felt by native peoples towards governmental protection of sacred spaces as overt cultural recognition may be read as a strategy to "appease complaints and ward off litigation in a period of amplified native claims and Hawaiian national activism" (643). Additionally, in 2006, Gaye Chan and Andrea Feeser visited the stones in *Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* with skepticism. "Today, the pōhaku are memorialized in recognition of their sacred power and the blessings they have bestowed on many people throughout Hawai'i" (79). However, in comparison to the nearby statue of Duke Kahanamoku that receives international recognition, the authors lament that the stones are still obscure although in better standing since their last placing, and maybe do not receive the attention and appreciation Kanahele envisioned in their restoration.

> Indeed, through the work of Kanahele and other Native Hawaiian experts, a great deal of Waikīkī's indigenous history has been recovered and memorialized. However,

> Kanahele's vision of restoring dignity to the pōhaku by honoring them has not turned Waikīkī into a mecca for those dedicated to traditional healing; an objective Kanahele hoped the shrine would realize (80).

This critique is exactly why it is crucial to include in the historicities of indigenous, Pacific sites, a window into how these places are contemporaneously remembered and performed in everyday moments outside of the traditional archive of written history.

Ongoing Histories

This work sought to escape the discursive net to which these stones have been contained. As we have seen, these stones and their history have been repetitiously described as forgotten, murky, and mysterious. I do not deny that there are still so many questions and our understanding of their most ancient narrative is limited. However, I hope this work shows that there is something ironic about this narrative of forgetting as the stones appear in written publications over and over again to bring them back into view. Indigenous histories so often are characterized as if they are forever in decline and always further receding into forgottenness. But this is not the case. We see in Chapter 2, by working within the epistemological context of indigenous knowledge and by connecting the stones to the dynamic qualities of Hawai‘i's pōhaku, stones of the Pacific, and Waikīkī's ancestral landscape, there is still more to unpack, and Nā Pōhaku Ola is very much a holographic library. Further, we see in the trail of publications that moments of heightened engagement with oral traditions over time have revealed the stones just a little more clearly. This history is still very much in progress for the stones are a memorial, not for something that is dead, but something that is living.

Locating Kahiki & Mediating Worlds

Another area of inquiry I draw attention to here is not more important than another but is driven by my own positionality as a Tahitian in Hawai‘i. My experiences lead me to ask what we

might learn about how public memory positions Tahiti and Hawai‘i as connected (or not connected) through these monumental stones. In Chapter 2, one of the thematic qualities of significant pōhaku revealed is their work in recording navigational histories or moments of exchange between distant shores. This quality is also true for Nā Pōhaku Ola, but how are these historical details remembered?

Beginning in Boyd’s short article emerges the story containing the names of the tahu’a and that they were said to have arrived from “Moa’ulanuiakea (Tahiti)” (Boyd 1907, 261; Appendix D1). However, following that early account, the visitors are simply identified as being “from Tahiti” or as “Tahitian.” This specific place name, Moa‘ulanuiākea, is not included in any publication again until 1997. A pattern that emerges in these articles is the appearance but lack of engagement with the placed origins of the named kahuna/tahu’a.

Conversely, around 1997, following the height of the Renaissance activities to which Kanaka Maoli and Mā’ohi became newly connected, this aspect of intercultural connections was freshly explored. In the 1990s, when Kanahele was engaging with Tahitians, the name Moa‘ulanuiākea reappears, but more specifically related to Ra’iātea. This was an emergent orientation not previously found. In a 2000 article, Kanahele confidently simplified the origin of the kahuna to just Ra’iātea. Notably, at the time, Ra’iātea was becoming a more widely recognized center in Polynesian consciousness and an Ancestral Homeland or pito (naval or umbilical) for many places following Hōkūle‘a’s renaissance activities. This development is another example of how contemporary concerns shape our collective memories of the past. In actuality, however, there are still many questions as to the origins of these tahu’a.[94] Even more

[94] N.b. Moa‘ulanuiākea appears in many ‘Ōiwi legends and oli (chants) regarding voyaging and in connection with the homeland of Mo‘ikeha in Henry’s *Ancient Tahiti* (1928) and Fornander (1916; 1919). Further, Kamakau notes

interesting, in 2004, in one of the articles on Kūhiō Beach, the healers merely were merely described as from "a distant land." Given the new explorations of the site in the 1990s, we should question why the historical representations again resorted to a narrative of mystery and obscurity. I believe that we should take note of all historical accounts that reproduce intercultural Oceanic connections shallowly and produce no depth for understanding these exchanges, especially when this is done subtly. We might look critically at how Tahitian identity or "Tahiti" easily becomes a broad classifier for talking about interactions no longer current — and one that signals mystery and yet rarely draws out further investigation.

In *Return to Kahiki,* Kealani Cook explores how various Hawaiian diplomatic characters between 1850 and 1907 were engaging with other Pacific Islanders (2017). Cook argues that these historical actors viewed their own indigenous past through the prism of the West, but these perceptions also ordered their relationships with other Pacific Islands communities with which they engaged (224). In this way, we should be aware that Mā'ohi persons sometimes represent a more primitive, romanticized, and 'othered' identity, even as Mā'ohi and Kanaka Maoli create solidarities in ways not bound in the text. For this reason, attention to contemporary exchanges and interactions between groups actually communicates more about what these historic ties mean in terms of real relationships and real people.The better that we come to understand this relationship as historical, cultural, and contemporary we see it is more like Kapaemāhū who, in

"Moa-'ula-nui-akea" more specifically as a "land in Raiatea of the Society Islands" (1992, 93). While literally translated in Hawaiian as "the great red chicken," it should be noted that in Tahitian mo'a means "sacred" and "Moa'ula" could be speculated to symbolically refer to the maro'ura (chiefly red girdle) associated with Ra'iātea (Finney 1999). Or by constrast, one might turn to Tēvita Ka'ili's translation of moa as "middle space/in-between space" (2017, 23). McGregor notes that Moa'ulaiki is a lesser known name of Kaho'olawe and, while Moa'ula is a name associated with Tahiti, Moa'ula is found in a number of Hawaiian place names and is the name of one of the great priests of Kanaloa (257). Moa'ulanuiākea as both a concept and as a place name connecting navigational histories could be further explored in future work.

1997, strained a building crane designed to hold 25-tons under its weight. Like an iceberg, this stone, was heavier and more monumental than any previous written account had perceived.

As we saw in Chapter 4, cultural protocol creates the space for transformational experiences as they "do not primarily describe the world or inform people about it but rather do something within it" (Robbins 2001). I inquire whether these cultural exchanges performed for these stones too create something lasting and mutually beneficial. Both Sasha Davis and Tracey Banivanua-Mar alert us to the importance of solidarity efforts in strengthening anti-colonial resistances (2014; 2016). Davis argues that "affinity-seeking" movements between activist and women's groups are growing in number in the Pacific (2014). He argues that these forming networks not only create personal relationships, but they also create the space for new ethics for caring for people beyond a fixed geography. As they maintain the integrity of the local and without dominating other personal experiences, these new social movements have the potential to destabilize the state's ability to define and arbitrate rights as they render hegemony obsolete (2014). While Jodi Byrd has pointed out that imperialism has an epistemological quality of distorting and creating competition among indigenous claims, networks through affinity have the potential to build common ground outside of the "cacophony" of imperialism's language (2011).

It is clear that the Hawaiian repertoire for activism, and the broader Pacific, has incorporated and continues to incorporate protocol as strategies for transoceanic solidarities. Between the years of 2014 and 2017, when the Hōkūleʻa circumnavigated the globe, cultural protocols and exchanges were an essential and symbolic ethical tool for spreading messages of environmental justice and indigenous vitality. Additionally, Tahiti continues to be a symbolic route through which all global affinities are built, as this worldwide voyage began and ended with the same route reclaimed in 1976. The significance and strength of Hōkūleʻa and its fellow

voyaging societies should not be seen as merely symbolic as their work is part of a genealogy of activism (Banivanua-Mar 2016, 223).

One might see that, as the stones of Kapaemāhū move into the 21st century, they too tell a story of building solidarity. When Nā Pōhaku Ola become a meeting place, they align peoples and their histories in ways that create real moments of care and responsibility (Davis 2014). As Joy Harjo's poem "Protocol" clearly displays, traditions of protocol exchange are powerful waʻa in which to build bridges across indigenous experiences and provide emotional grounds to recognize the histories and genealogies of others (Byrd 2011, 182). Like Davis' networks of affinities, protocol exchanges offer a model for non-hegemonic relationships to emerge and reverberate into other aspects of our lives (2014). In this way, protocols become an essential element of this project in understanding how Mā'ohi and Maoli communities are communicating and re-envisioning the space between them.

This cultural site is a juncture at which to glimpse the story of Hawaiʻi and "Kahiki," ancient and contemporary, on one shore. It has become both a library and a meeting ground for Kānaka Maoli and Mā'ohi visitors to strengthen their understanding of these genealogical ties and affirm centuries old solidarities into the future. In other words, through 'practice' and 'place,' genealogical histories and struggles for reclaiming history and self-determination are mutually articulated to make something that is productive, and that feeds imagination and community connectedness.

I also acknowledge that there are limitations to this. Sites are complicated and, while they are about the sacred, history, heritage and connectedness, they are not always places of perfect joy. No relationships are without unevenness and even affinity-seeking networks can be at times imperfect. A common issue that deserves sensitivity here and with many of most important sites

is that of ownership and guardianship. Further community engagement would be necessary to assess how successful these interactions are into the future.

While I have visited some key issues in the history and meaning of Nā Pōhaku Ola, this thesis has also illustrated that this site can be meaningful in a great number of ways. This multitude of dimensions signals a clear set of limitations in this particular project. One, I am not Hawaiian and am aware of many other roads that this work did not address. When I set out with the hypothesis that this stone site was not just a story, but an entire library, I did not know how far those library shelves would go, and I still don't because there are still many things to learn. This site could still be approached in terms of its lāʻau lapaʻau traditions, which are no less important than what I have discussed. The realm of how it relates to gender was explored in part but needs further discussion. For reasons of sensitivity and the need for further exploration, not all my methods used to engage with Mā'ohi histories made it into this work. I acknowledge that further future dialogue with Mā'ohi persons on the mythical dimensions of this site and on what these contemporary protocol interactions mean for them would strengthen an understanding of this intercultural space. In Pacific scholarship, however, we are used to feeling the unboundedness of this ocean and welcome the complexity of Pacific worldviews and our (post)colonial landscapes.[95] I hope this work leaves the door open for deeper engagements with this site and other stones that ground Pacific stories. Of these things we know, stones are living. They bear on our lives and us on them. They tell us stories, and we have the opportunity to listen. We also must care for them for, even if we don't care to notice, they will still be there marking where past tupuna crossed.

[95] Inspired by keynote address by Teresia Teaiwa at CPIS Student Conference 2016.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A. Index of Newspaper Publications 1905-2015

A1: 1905. "Sacrificial Stone Idols and Skeleton: Interesting Find by Ex-Gov. Cleghorn on Waikiki Beach Lots – Relics of a Barbarian Past Uncovered." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 23, 5.

———. *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 24, 2.

SACRIFICIAL STONE IDOLS AND SKELETON

Interesting Find by Ex-Gov. Cleghorn on Waikiki Beach Lots---Relics of a Barbarian Past Uncovered.

Sacrificial stones, the history of which is too remote even for the oldest Hawaiian inhabitant here to determine, have been unearthed by Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, at his beach place on the Diamond Head side of the Hustace residence and close to the Moana Hotel. The discovery is an all-important one in the antiquarian history of the islands and their people, for it was probably on this spot generations ago when the Oahuans were supreme in their own sovereignty, that the high priests made public demonstrations of their power, not only over the people but over the king as well.

In the front yard of the Cleghorn beach premises and in plain view of the road, is a huge mound of stones, or, to be more explicit, a group of huge stones with some smaller ones grotesquely elevated on top. To the casual passer-by the big stones have no meaning, but many persons have been curious to know why the misshapen rocks should be raised in so conspicuous a place.

These rocks, however, are among the most valuable that have been brought to light in recent years.

For the past two decades, or since the time when the Princess Likelike used the same premises for a bathing place, Mr. Cleghorn has taken note of some peculiar outcroppings of stones a foot or two above the sand. He saw that one was hollowed with some attempt at design to a depth of several inches. He became convinced that the stone had, in ancient times, been used in the performance of religious rites. There were deep stains about the rim which no washing would remove, and the stains are there to this day, but whether caused by the blood of sacrificed victims or from draughts of awa poured into the hollow by the priests is not yet determined.

While erecting his new beach cottage recently Mr. Cleghorn made a closer investigation of the stone. With the assistance of Mr. Traphagen, Mr. Cleghorn had his men dig carefully about the mass. They dug to a depth of five feet before they came to the base. The stone was found to be a huge one, weighing about eight tons. It is not of the class found on or near the beach, but undoubtedly came from the range of hills back of Kapiolani Park. Jack-screws were used and the stone was brought to the surface and the excavation filled in.

Investigation showed that in the lot on the Diamond Head side there was another large stone. The property, now owned by Mr. Lutted, was formerly in the possession of Charles W. Booth, and permission was granted to Mr. Cleghorn to raise the prize. The second stone was found to be much heavier, in fact, it weighs, according to Mr. Traphagen's estimates, about ten tons. It was found in a straight line with the first stone and still a third and a fourth were excavated, all in a straight line.

When the ten-ton stone was raised Mr. Cleghorn made his most important discovery. The remains of a skeleton were found buried beneath the great rock. But few bones had been left by Time. There was a jaw-bone with all the teeth intact and perfect. Dr. Mays, the physician, to whom it was shown, and Dr. Whitney, the dentist, pronounce the teeth those of a young woman perhaps 17 years of age. The teeth are now in the temporary possession of Dr. Whitney for treatment and will be returned to Mr. Cleghorn.

It is the opinion of Mr. Cleghorn that the young woman was the victim of a sacrificial rite. The sacrifice must have been a very important function to have had the people go to the great trouble of burying the remains beneath so huge a stone.

But the skeleton was not the only feature to call to mind the idea that there had been human sacrifice. Close to the bones Mr. Cleghorn discovered four or five very crude idols, two of which are now cemented to the top of the ten-ton rock, giving the latter a very grotesque appearance. The workmen broke the head off of one, and this was cemented on again. Only those who are acquainted with Hawaiians idols would have recognized the almost shapeless stones as figures before which the ancient Hawaiians made their devotions and offerings. The broken one had been rudely shaped. The head was but a ball and the body merely shaped to give the appearance of a neck and a large-sized trunk.

In the other there is a notch to indicate that there is a chin, and there are a few markings beneath. Another was a slab-side piece of stone, which is believed to be a fish-god.

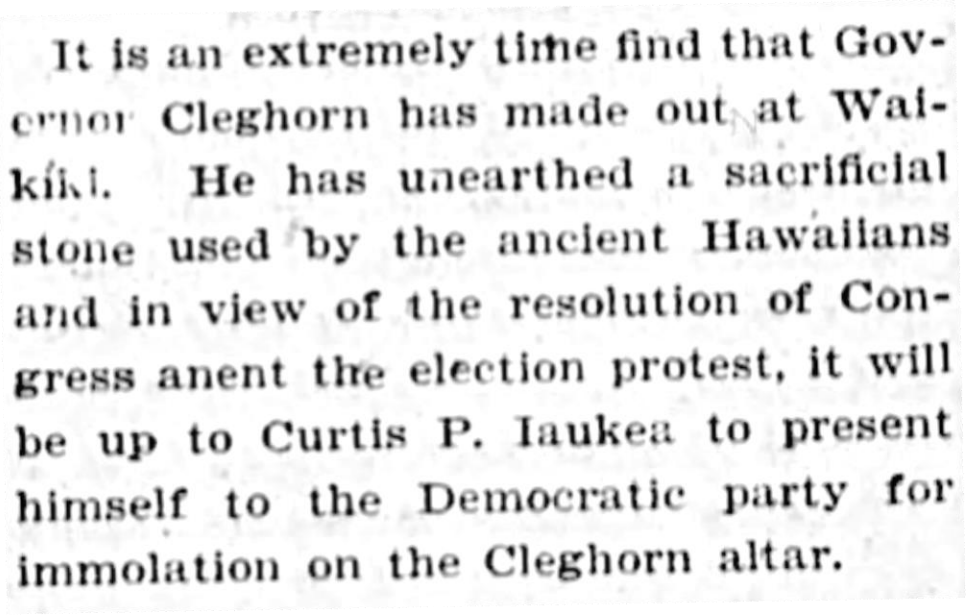
A curious stone is one which was found at the end of the line of rocks. This has curious hollowed indentations on the surface, one much like the seat of a sulky-plow. Mr. Cleghorn believes that this was the seat of a high chief or a priest. Another imperfect hollowing occurs a foot away but this may have been merely a receptacle for awa or other kahunaed liquid, or it may have been a seat for another person.

How the Hawaiians ever brought these huge stones down to the beach from the mountain is a mystery. It is not known whether they were versed in methods of carrying huge objects to great distances. There were no horses or mules here, and all transportation must have been by hand and possibly on rude sledges.

The site of these curious stones recalls the fact that the beach there was the favorite bathing place of Kamehameha the Great and his chiefs. It is also believed that the King of Oahu before the advent of the conqueror used the same place.

The beach is now considered dangerous for people who are not good swimmers. The water is very deep just off the shore and the under-tow at times is extremely strong. Mr. Cleghorn states that it is a curious thing that the bottom along that section is almost free from coral. There appears to be a half moon section there which has no coral stones to amount to anything. Mr. Cleghorn is of the opinion that Kamehameha put a great many of his people to work there removing the coral so that he might have a clean, sandy ocean bed beneath the surface of the water where he had chosen to enjoy his baths and watch the aquatic sports of his subjects.

A2: 1905. Untitled. *Hawaiian Star*, February 23, 4.



It is an extremely time find that Governor Cleghorn has made out at Waikiki. He has unearthed a sacrificial stone used by the ancient Hawaiians and in view of the resolution of Congress anent the election protest, it will be up to Curtis P. Iaukea to present himself to the Democratic party for immolation on the Cleghorn altar.

A3: 1905. "Royal Remains Were Not Found. How Rumor Grew." *Evening Bulletin*, May 12, 1.

Royal Remains
Were Not Found.
How Rumor Grew

It was rumored about town today that Governor Cleghorn had dug up the bones of Kamehameha the Great, an old Hawaiian on his death bed revealing the whereabouts of the remains.

A telephone message to the Cleghorn mansion brought the reply:

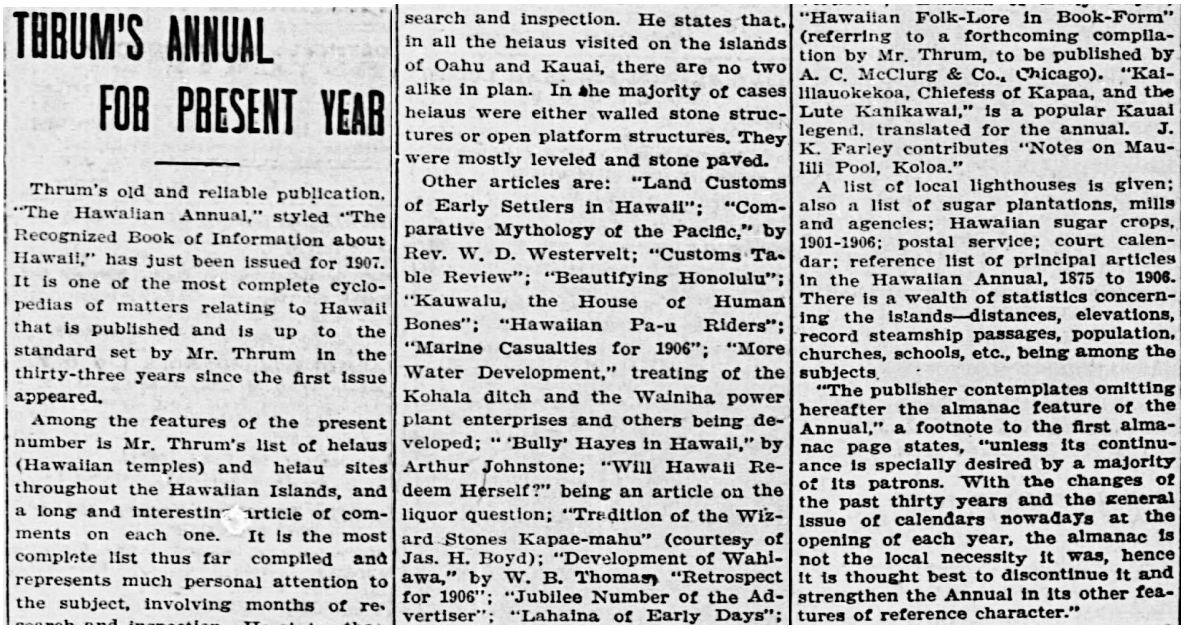
"Mr. Cleghorn is not home, but I do not think he has said anything about finding the bones of Kamehameha the Great. He found some bones and a feather cloak. He buried the bones and kept the cloak."

A member of the family said this afternoon: "There is nothing in the story of Mr. Cleghorn finding the bones of Kamehameha I. He removed some large stones just Waikiki of the Waikiki anex and found a skull some time ago. There have been no bones, royal or otherwise, since then.

As is not usually the case with rumors, it was learned how the rumor in this case grew and spread.

Some children near the Annex were telling the story of the finding of the skull to some other children with whom they were playing, who, in turn, told it to their parents, wondering if the bones might not be those of Kamehameha. These parents discussed the matter downtown and people to whom they related the possibilities, by easy stages of exaggeration, gave it out that the remains of the Kamehameha had been found. It was but a jump from this point to the assertion that Cleghorn had been offered a big sum for the bones and refused it.

A4: 1907. “Thrum’s Annual for Present Year.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 3, 7.



THRUM'S ANNUAL FOR PRESENT YEAR

Thrum's old and reliable publication, "The Hawaiian Annual," styled "The Recognized Book of Information about Hawaii," has just been issued for 1907. It is one of the most complete cyclopedias of matters relating to Hawaii that is published and is up to the standard set by Mr. Thrum in the thirty-three years since the first issue appeared.

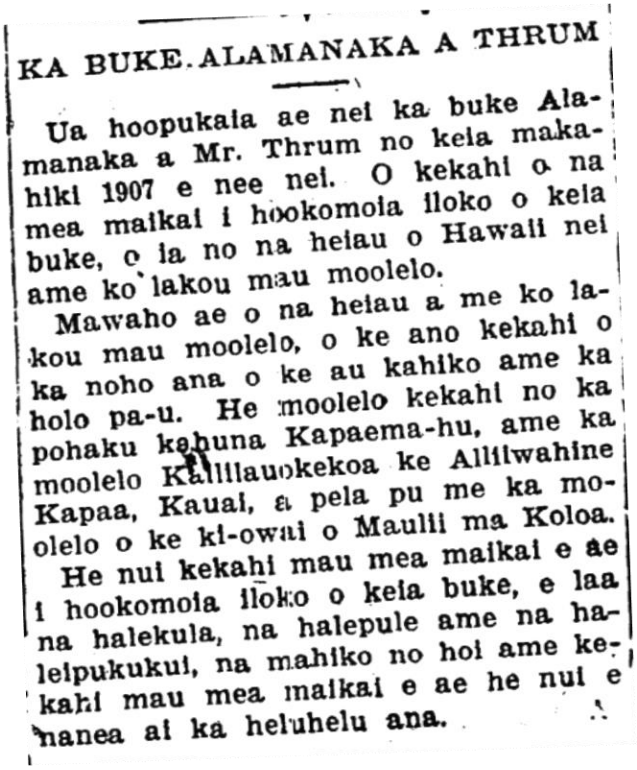
Among the features of the present number is Mr. Thrum's list of heiaus (Hawaiian temples) and heiau sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands, and a long and interesting article of comments on each one. It is the most complete list thus far compiled and represents much personal attention to the subject, involving months of research and inspection. He states that, in all the heiaus visited on the islands of Oahu and Kauai, there are no two alike in plan. In the majority of cases heiaus were either walled stone structures or open platform structures. They were mostly leveled and stone paved.

Other articles are: "Land Customs of Early Settlers in Hawaii"; "Comparative Mythology of the Pacific," by Rev. W. D. Westervelt; "Customs Table Review"; "Beautifying Honolulu"; "Kauwalu, the House of Human Bones"; "Hawaiian Pa-u Riders"; "Marine Casualties for 1906"; "More Water Development," treating of the Kohala ditch and the Wainiha power plant enterprises and others being developed; "'Bully' Hayes in Hawaii," by Arthur Johnstone; "Will Hawaii Redeem Herself?" being an article on the liquor question; "Tradition of the Wizard Stones Kapae-mahu" (courtesy of Jas. H. Boyd); "Development of Wahiawa," by W. B. Thomas; "Retrospect for 1906"; "Jubilee Number of the Advertiser"; "Lahaina of Early Days"; "Hawaiian Folk-Lore in Book-Form" (referring to a forthcoming compilation by Mr. Thrum, to be published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago). "Kalilauokekoa, Chiefess of Kapaa, and the Lute Kanikawai," is a popular Kauai legend, translated for the annual. J. K. Farley contributes "Notes on Maulili Pool, Koloa."

A list of local lighthouses is given; also a list of sugar plantations, mills and agencies; Hawaiian sugar crops, 1901-1906; postal service; court calendar; reference list of principal articles in the Hawaiian Annual, 1875 to 1906. There is a wealth of statistics concerning the islands—distances, elevations, record steamship passages, population, churches, schools, etc., being among the subjects.

"The publisher contemplates omitting hereafter the almanac feature of the Annual," a footnote to the first almanac page states, "unless its continuance is specially desired by a majority of its patrons. With the changes of the past thirty years and the general issue of calendars nowadays at the opening of each year, the almanac is not the local necessity it was, hence it is thought best to discontinue it and strengthen the Annual in its other features of reference character."

A5: 1907. “Ka Buke Almanaka a Thrum.” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (46), January 4, 1.



KA BUKE ALAMANAKA A THRUM

Ua hoopukaia ae nei ka buke Alamanaka a Mr. Thrum no keia makahiki 1907 e nee nei. O kekahi o na mea maikai i hookomoia iloko o keia buke, o ia no na heiau o Hawaii nei ame ko lakou mau moolelo.

Mawaho ae o na heiau a me ko lakou mau moolelo, o ke ano kekahi o ka noho ana o ke au kahiko ame ka holo pa-u. He moolelo kekahi no ka pohaku kahuna Kapaema-hu, ame ka moolelo Kalilauokekoa ke Alii iwahine Kapaa, Kauai, a pela pu me ka moolelo o ke ki-owai o Maulili ma Koloa.

He nui kekahi mau mea maikai e ae i hookomoia iloko o keia buke, e laa na halekula, na halepule ame na haleipukukui, na mahiko no hoi ame kekahi mau mea maikai e ae he nui e hanea ai ka heluhelu ana.

A6: Y. Y., 1941. "Ancient Memorials Endangered." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 4, 6.

ANCIENT MEMORIALS ENDANGERED

Editor The Star-Bulletin: Is anything being done for the preservation of the historical boulders, altars and figures which stand on the old Cleghorn beach place at Waikiki, formerly known as the Kaiulani bungalows?

These ancient memorials have great traditional value: as see Thrum's annual for the year 1907, page 139, and it would be a great misfortune were they to be destroyed.

I see by your paper that there is now a project for erecting a bowling alley upon this property and it is possible that provision for the preservation of these relics has not been made. Is there not some person or hui who would be interested in attending to their safety?

In the year 1928 when the property was leased for a time, I succeeded in interesting the lessees in the fact that these monuments are an asset rather than a liability, and they were preserved for the time being. There is a provision in Governor Cleghorn's will to the effect that they may not be disturbed; but at that time there was a plan to override this provision.

Y. Y.

A7: Hollingsworth, Louise. 1941. "Wizard Stones To Go So Waikiki May Bowl." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 6, 1.

Wizard Stones To Go So Waikiki May Bowl

By LOUISE HOLLINGSWORTH

About eight tons of rock, worth its weight in Hawaiian historical significance, are about to be removed to make way for an air conditioned bowling alley.

These are the legendary wizard stones, Ka-Pae-Mahu, dedicated to the four Tahitian soothsayers and healers who visited Oahu "long before the reign of King Kakuhihewa," king of Oahu at about the time Queen Elizabeth was on the English throne.

LEGENDARY SYMBOLS: Miss La Prele Spencer, manager of the Cleghorn beach apartments, perches between two massive stones dedicated to Tahitian soothsayers of legendary times. The stones, on the Alexander Cleghorn premises in Waikiki are to be removed soon to make way for a bowling alley.—Star-Bulletin photo.

Now situated on the Waikiki premises on Kalakaua Ave., owned by heirs of the late Governor A. S. Cleghorn, the stones will either have to be blasted out or removed elsewhere as the place has been leased to the Hawaiian Enterprises Co. for a recreation site.

Cottages to Go

Torn down also will be the charming old fashioned cottages on the Cleghorn place where many newcomers have lived and enjoyed their impressions of Hawaii.

The presence of the historic rocks is not generally known.

They are now well concealed by shrubbery in the cottage court yard.

They were greatly prized, however, by the late Mr. Cleghorn, whose will, made in 1910, said:

"It is my wish and I hereby direct that the historic stones on the premises shall not be defaced or removed."

Legal complication, then, may attend the removal of the rocks.

The amusement company officials say that their removal is up to the owners from whom they are leasing the property.

The legend of the wizard stones is this:

Long before the reign of King Kakuhihewa, roughly estimated as being in the latter part of the 16th century, four soothsayers came to Oahu from Tahiti.

Their names were Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi. They were handsome, kindly and soft spoken. They were unsexed by nature, and their habits coincided with their feminine appearance.

They made a tour of the islands, and, returning to Oahu, settled at Ulukou, near the Moana hotel.

These wizards were skilled in the arts of healing. Their wisdom gained fame for them among the people of Oahu.

Asked for Monuments

When time came for them to leave Hawaii, they asked for recognition in the form of four monumental tablets, two to be erected at the place of their abode and two at their usual bathing place in the sea.

Accordingly, massive rocks were brought from the vicinity of Waialae Ave., in Kaimuki.

When the stones were placed, a virgin chieftess was sacrificed and placed under the rock.

Idols indicating the hermaphrodite sex of the wizards were placed under each stone. When the stones were in place, the wizards vanished and were seen no more.

The rocks now to be seen at the Cleghorn place are believed to be those which were placed at the bathing place of the wizards.

Found Skeleton

These were unearthed from the sand in about 1907, according to Alexander Cleghorn, present holder of the property. According to Mr. Cleghorn, the skeleton of a young woman was found under the rocky mass. It was sent to the Bishop museum.

Clearing and building operations by the amusement company are scheduled to start July 1.

A8: 1941. “Wizard Stones To Be Moved.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 7, 19.

Wizard Stones To Be Moved

The legendary wizard stones of Ka-Pae-Mahu, rich in historical lore, must give way to 20th Century progress.

The stones, dedicated to the four Tahitian soothsayers and healers who visited Oahu in early days, and located on the Waikiki property of the late Governor A. S. Cleghorn, are to be moved so that a bowling alley may be built there. The cottages on Cleghorn place also must go.

'Tis said a virgin chiefess was sacrificed and buried under the rocks. Later a skeleton, believed to be that of the sacrificed girl, was found and sent to the Bishop Museum.

Building operations for the recreation center are scheduled to begin July 1.

A9: 1941. “Hawaiian Club Hits Removal Of Wizard Stones.*”* *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 7, 1.

Hawaiian Club Hits Removal Of Wizard Stones

Removal of the massive rock monument at Waikiki erected several hundred years ago to commemorate the visit to Oahu of four legendary Tahitian soothsayers, was protested today by the Hawaiian Civic club.

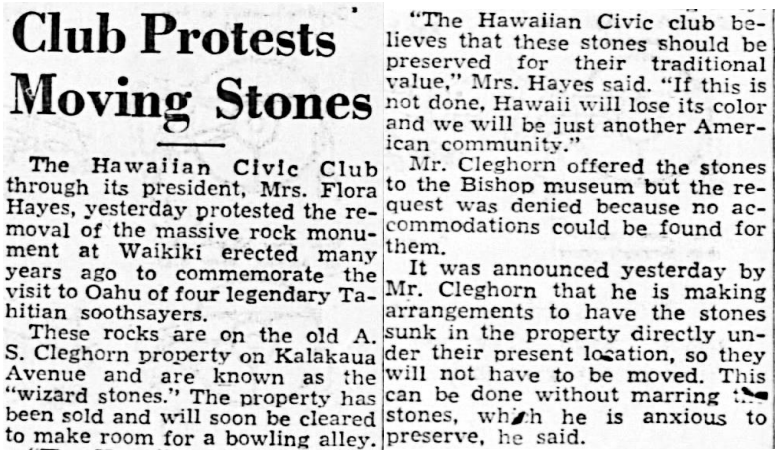
The rocks, situated on the old A. S. Cleghorn property on Kalakaua Ave., are known as the "wizard stones." The property is to be cleared soon as the site of a modern bowling alley.

"The Hawaiian Civic club believes that these stones should be preserved for their traditional value and in order to retain our individuality as a community," Mrs. Hayes speaking as the president of the club, said.

"If this is not done Hawaii will lose its color and we will be just another American community," Mrs. Hayes continued. "The Hawaiian Civic club does not wish this to happen and believes firmly that all historical objects and places should be preserved."

Mr. Cleghorn announced today that he is making arrangements to have the stones sunk on the property, directly under their present locations, so they will not have to be removed. This will be done, he says, without marring the stones, which he is anxious to preserve. He made efforts to have the stones placed in the Bishop museum but they are so large and unwieldy, the museum had no accommodations for them.

A10: 1941. "Club Protests Moving Stones." *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 8, 6.



Club Protests Moving Stones

The Hawaiian Civic Club through its president, Mrs. Flora Hayes, yesterday protested the removal of the massive rock monument at Waikiki erected many years ago to commemorate the visit to Oahu of four legendary Tahitian soothsayers.

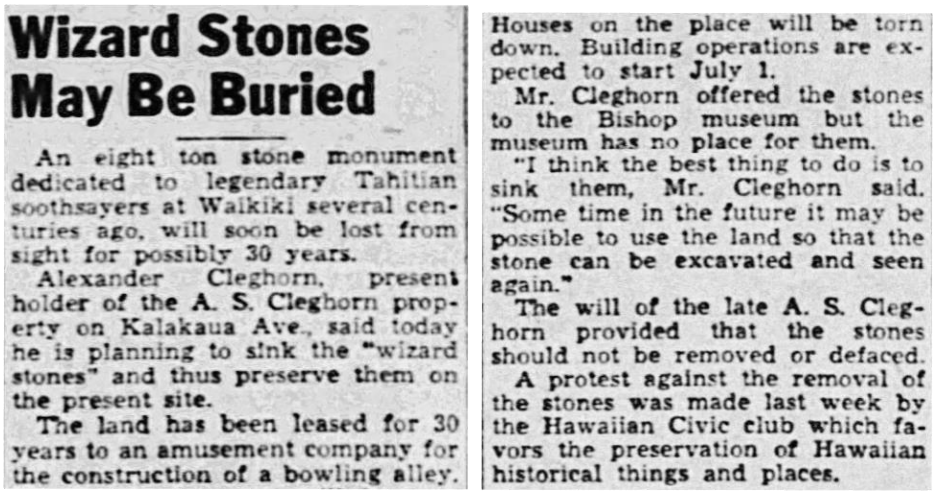
These rocks are on the old A. S. Cleghorn property on Kalakaua Avenue and are known as the "wizard stones." The property has been sold and will soon be cleared to make room for a bowling alley.

"The Hawaiian Civic club believes that these stones should be preserved for their traditional value," Mrs. Hayes said. "If this is not done, Hawaii will lose its color and we will be just another American community."

Mr. Cleghorn offered the stones to the Bishop museum but the request was denied because no accommodations could be found for them.

It was announced yesterday by Mr. Cleghorn that he is making arrangements to have the stones sunk in the property directly under their present location, so they will not have to be moved. This can be done without marring the stones, which he is anxious to preserve, he said.

A11: 1941. "Wizard Stones May Be Buried." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 9, 2.



Wizard Stones May Be Buried

An eight ton stone monument dedicated to legendary Tahitian soothsayers at Waikiki several centuries ago, will soon be lost from sight for possibly 30 years.

Alexander Cleghorn, present holder of the A. S. Cleghorn property on Kalakaua Ave., said today he is planning to sink the "wizard stones" and thus preserve them on the present site.

The land has been leased for 30 years to an amusement company for the construction of a bowling alley. Houses on the place will be torn down. Building operations are expected to start July 1.

Mr. Cleghorn offered the stones to the Bishop museum but the museum has no place for them.

"I think the best thing to do is to sink them, Mr. Cleghorn said. "Some time in the future it may be possible to use the land so that the stone can be excavated and seen again."

The will of the late A. S. Cleghorn provided that the stones should not be removed or defaced.

A protest against the removal of the stones was made last week by the Hawaiian Civic club which favors the preservation of Hawaiian historical things and places.

A12: 1941. "'Wizard Stones' Will Be Buried At Waikiki Spot." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 9, 13.

'Wizard Stones' Will Be Buried At Waikiki Spot

Every care will be used in making proper disposal of the wizard stones on the Alexander Cleghorn property at Waikiki, it is announced by Mr. Cleghorn.

As told in The Star-Bulletin Friday, these stones of historic and archaeological significance must be moved to make way for the erection of bowling alleys, the property being leased to promoters of the alleys.

Architect Lou Davis has worked out a method by which the stones need not be moved from the property itself but can be sunk deep in the sand under their present locations. Thus the terms of the will of the late Gov. A. S. Cleghorn and the tradition that the stones should not be displayed will alike be observed and obeyed.

Mr. Cleghorn has been giving much thought to the disposition of the stones and is advised that sinking the stones in their present locations will satisfy the legal requirements of the will.

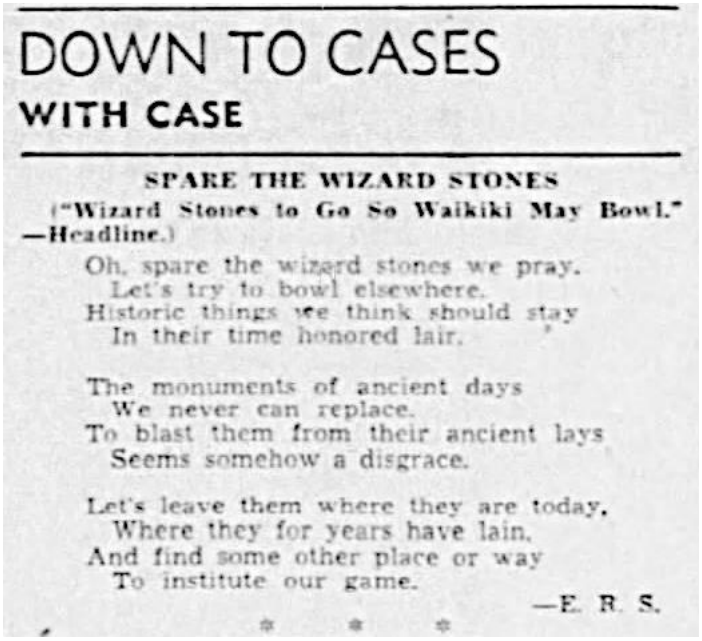
The stones, weighing some 8 tons, are so heavy and bulky that no museum has place for them now.

A13: E. R. S. 1941. “Spare the Wizard Stones.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 11, 8.

Oh, spare the wizard stones we pray.
Let‘s try to bowl elsewhere.
Historic things we think should stay
In their time honored lair.

The monuments of ancient days
We never can replace.
To blast them from their ancient lays
Seems somehow a disgrace.

Let’s leave them where they are today,
Where they for years have lain,
And find some other place or way
To institute our game.



DOWN TO CASES
WITH CASE

SPARE THE WIZARD STONES

("Wizard Stones to Go So Waikiki May Bowl." —Headline.)

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To institute our game.

—E. R. S.

A14: 1941. “Wizard Stone Display Set.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 4, 15.

Wizard Stone Display Set

When the proposed new bowling alleys and amusement place is built some time late next fall at Waikiki beach on the present Cleghorn Apartments site, the Kalakaua avenue entrance will be a concrete walk between the two well publicized "wizard stones," it was announced yesterday by Herbert A. Truslow, who is handling the deal involving owners of the property and the purchaser, whose name was not disclosed.

"A 10-foot set back line for the bowling alley building has been ordered by the plann'ng commission," Mr. Truslow said. This gives us plenty of room to place the famous "wizard stones in a prominent spot and should satisfy the Hawaiian society that objected to the removal or destruction of the stones."

The "wizard stones" commenorate the arrival long ago of famous soothsayers from far away Tahiti. Old time Hawaiians of this island objected to the removal of the stones from the Cleghorn property.

Final papers for the transfer of Cleghorn property will be signed within a few days, said Mr. Truslow.

A15: Taylor, Clarice B. 1959. “Untitled.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 16, 26.

Stones which were sacred to the Hawaiian but which look much like any other stone to the visitor can be made attractive by properly labeling them and adding a bit of their history.

By CLARICE B. TAYLOR

The Island of Kauai is advanced in its preservation of historic sites because interest was taken by private citizens more than 30 years ago.

Kukui-o-Lono Park in Kalaheo is an example of the life-long interest in Hawaiiana taken by the late Walter McBryde.

His estate today is a park in which many sacred stones of the Hawaiians are preserved.

The stones are made interesting to the visitor by being properly marked and a bit of their history recited.

The stone at the left in the picture above is Pohauloa, a fish god. The stone lying behind the visitor is Kauai Iki, so named because the rock resembles the outlines of the Island of Kauai and was visited by all Hawaiians on a pilgrimage so that they could say, “I have been around Kauai.”

The Territorial Planning Commission will propose to the 1959 Legislature that Hawaii have a park system in which major historic sites will be preserved and made attractive to visitors.

Some sites will be restored. Pamphlets will be written about them and the “pile of rocks” will be marked with self-explanatory legends.

A16: Warren, Grace Tower. 1961. "Bells of Phonolite Rocks Served As Old Hawaiian's Semaphore." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 19, 7.

Kamaaina Kolumn

Bells of Phonolite Rock Served As Old Hawaiian's Semaphore

By
GRACE TOWER WARREN

Recently I heard for the first time about the old Hawaiian bell stone which for years lay beside Wajalae Road near 5th Avenue. John Spencer, an old-timer, tells me that when Waialae Road was widened the stone was broken up and thrown into the corner of the grounds of Sacred Hearts Academy. I have also been told that some of the fragments were thrown into the corner of the King's Daughters Home grounds, on the opposite corner of 5th Avenue.

MR. SPENCER said that 60 or 70 years ago, buildings were scarce and little more than swamp land and pasture lay between Kaimuki and Waikiki. The bell stone at that time was used as a signal by boys to let their friends at the beach know when they were going on a hike or a picnic. Walter Grace is another kamaaina who remembers that there was such a stone. Another friend of mine told me that when she was a little girl she remembers that she and her playmates used to throw stones at the big stone in order to hear the resonance.

Mr. Spencer says that the stone was mushroom shaped.

Clarice Taylor, an authority on Old Hawaii, tells me that there are bell stones on several of the Islands, one in the little park at Puna, Hawaii.

There is also a bell stone in the yard of Agnes Yuen on Molokai.

DR. HAROLD T. STEARNS, the geologist and writer, says that ancient lava flows from Round Top and Diamond Head deposited lava which hardened into the basaltic type, a very dense rock. Some of these are found in stream beds back of Honolulu. One such stream was traced as a later outburst of nepheline basalt, under the site of Fort Shafter. These rare phonolite rocks produce a bell tone when struck. There are two names by which these bell stones are known, according to Mary Pukui's Hawaiian dictionary, Pohaku Kani and Pohaku Kikeke. This was called to my attention by E. H. Bryan of the Bishop Museum.

ONE AUTHORITY states that on the Maunawili side of the Koolau range (the mountains back of Manoa) there is a stone called Pohaku Kuoo, which has a hole in it. The King would instruct his men to make a huge bundle of ti leaves which would be thrust into the hole. When beaten, the stone would give out a loud report in Manoa Valley.

Dr. Kenneth Emory says there is an old bell stone embedded in the earth on the grounds of the Bishop Museum, too deeply buried to give out a good tone.

ACCORDING to Walter J. Smith's "Legends of Hawaii," there is an old bell on the island of Kauai near the Wailua river. It is located in a pile of rocks on a little hill where the Kahunas made their ole of rejoicing, telling that a baby boy has passed his test at Holo Holo Ku, and was to be called a high chief of the common people. The stone was also used to warn the people if they came into lower Wailua, a sacred section, forbidden to commoners.

During the nights of Kane and Lono, music and beautiful voices could be heard by those who were close in spirit (Smith's "Legends of Hawaii").

On the island of Lanai there is a stone called Pohaku Lanai. It is a large balancing stone of Kaaeolupava Point, Waialua. The stone is oval, 18 feet across and balanced on a smaller stone, the whole being about 10 feet high.

McALLISTER'S Archaeology of Oahu states that this was a fisherman's lookout and when a school of fish was sighted, the stone, when struck with a wooden mallet, would give out a resounding tone which could be heard by people in the valley, notifying them that fish were plentiful. In one of Thomas J. Thrum's early writings he states that this stone "was supposed to have floated ashore from Kahiki, the vague, foreign country of their ancient meles."

E. H. Bryan Jr. of Bishop Museum staff says that these basalt bell stones are fre-

A17: 1962. “Kuhio Beach Expansion.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 6, A1.

The demolition of the Waikiki Bowl building at right will add about one-fourth of an acre to the City's open beach area on the Ewa side of Kuhio Beach. The pavilion built by the City on the old Steiner property is at left. The Waikiki Bowl, on the former Cleghorn Estate property, is to be torn down in October. —Star-Bulletin Photo by Terry Luke.

Kuhio Beach Expansion

Continued from Page 1

renew leases was sent by registered letter today above the signature of Richard S. Takasaki, City finance director.

Blaisdell said today specifications for the demolition of the Waikiki Bowl Building are being prepared by the City Building Department. A call for bids will be issued next month.

A fund of $50,000 in the City's 1962-63 capital improvements budget has been earmarked for the demolition of the bowl building and the conversion of beach land to an open park area.

The Waikiki Beach property lies between the Sur-Rider Hotel and the City's Waikiki Beach Center, which was established in 1960-61 after the City demolished buildings on the former Steiner Estate property.

Land for the Kuhio Beach Park—the former Steiner and Cleghorn properties—cost the City-County approximately $26 a square foot when the land was taken over by condemnation four years ago.

The Steiner property was acquired by the City in two parcels. The Steiner mansion, a Waikiki landmark since 1912, was acquired with 14,051 square feet of land in 1952. A remaining parcel of 45,149 square feet was acquired in 1958.

A Circuit Court jury awarded $311,500 for the property with the residence and set a price tag of $1.2 million on a larger adjoining parcel where the City-County beach area is established today.

A18: 1962. “Demolition To Wait On Aloha Week.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 5, B1.

Demolition To Wait On Aloha Week

Demolition work on the outside of the old Waikiki Bowl Building will begin immediately after Aloha Week, the City Finance department announced yesterday.

The building will be torn down by Dan's Lumber Yard Ltd. under an $18,200 contract awarded on Monday.

• • •

THE CITY decided not to start tearing down the entire building until Oct. 29 because it didn't want "unsightly demolition" disrupting Aloha Week festivities in Waikiki. The site of the building will be added to Kuhio Beach Park.

The contractor will start tearing out the interior of the building on Monday. He has 45 days from Oct. 29 to complete the demolition job.

The City acquired the building and the land it occupies about two years ago. It had been leasing to tenants until a month ago, when the leases were terminated.

A19: Richeson, Dale. 1963. "The Miracle Isles." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 5, 6.

January 5, 1963 The Saturday Star-Bulletin

The MIRACLE ISLES

By Dale Richeson

PERHAPS the greatest tragedy of old Hawaii is the fact that it had no written language.

Or perhaps this was really a blessing.

With a written language, the Polynesians could have recorded a history and modern scholars could have put together the facts of the matter about a colorful culture. The truth about hundreds of significant heiaus, sacred stones, sacred falls and sacred mountains would probably be available to us today.

On the other hand, the legends which have come down to us—solidified by having been recorded early—would not have grown with the telling, and perhaps most of the color would have been lost.

The Favorite Legends

This somewhat unerudite conclusion blossomed after I had written a few stories about favorite legendary sites and had heard the response of readers.

Several calls, suggesting a story about the sacrificial stones at Kolekole Pass made the site sound like the possible source material for an entire book.

The ancient chiefs of Hawaii used to make pilgrimages to the pass, and upon arrival, fight a battle to determine which should be offered as a sacrifice. The loser was killed, I was told, and his carcass stretched upon the rocks. When it decomposed, another day was chosen and another battle staged.

On numerous occasions, the stories relate, road builders and mischievous visitors have tried to roll the stones down the mountainside.

But invariably, the stones righted themselves before they reached the bottom, and then beat a path back to their original resting places.

Almost every heiau in the Islands is surrounded with similar legends about how the stones refused to be moved.

That native Islanders believe many of these stories is testified to by the fact that they approach these stones with fear and trembling and would rather face an atomic bomb than be caught trifling with the stones.

Undoubtedly the ancient Polynesians held a genuine respect for these rocks, and various scholars who came to Hawaii early enough to tap the folklore of the prehistoric era, have recorded details of the worship of these stones.

Historical Tales

In addition to the record they kept, however, is the still-growing mass of legends. Often there is a conflict between today's version of the legends and the carefully-researched recordings of the earlier legends.

A large number of stones are held today to have been sacrificial stones. The one at Kolekole Pass has grooves and notches in it which are reputed to be designed for the specific purpose of making it easier to tie the victim in place.

Another groove is held to have been made as a trough for carrying away blood.

Yet scholars indicate that, in all probability, the stone was never used for sacrificing humans.

Such sacrifices were made only at heiaus, and the victims were usually picked up dead from the battlefield and carried to the altars. Live victims were probably a great rarity.

The significance of stones to the ancient society, however, is a matter upon which most scholars agree. Collections of stones at Wahiawa, Hilo, Kona and on Kauai are the sacred sites where royal women went to bear their children. The tabus of these spots, as well as the religious beliefs associated with them, are accepted almost uniformly by researchers.

The royal person born in such a site enjoyed blessings far in excess of those who were not.

Above the Kauai birthing place is a crevice in a bluff, where navel cords were hung and protected with stones and hala seeds, to keep rats from eating them. The child whose cord was eaten by a rat, it was believed, would grow up to become a thief.

A stone from an Oahu birthing site was used in the gateway to Punahou School, and later moved to the corner of Beretania and Makiki Streets—which later became the site of the first maternity home. Hawaiians are convinced that this was not coincidence, but the working of mysterious powers.

A stone on the side of Punchbowl in Honolulu, known as Puowaina, was considered one of the most powerful of all stones, and Hawaiians who lived well into recent generations reported having seen the sacrifice of human bodies made.

At Kalapana on the Big Island there is a large collection of stones, gathered into one place so they would not be lost and each has a distinct set of legends.

One is held to be the rock to which accused persons were tied while awaiting sentence. The rock was within inches of a fire pit, and the prisoner was forced to stand within reflection distance of the heat while his fate was debated.

If he was found guilty, he was dumped into the pit of hot coals, and if judged innocent, was freed.

Even if he were freed, the ancients felt, the experience would be one the prisoner would never forget, and the memory would prevent him from committing crimes in the future.

Another stone is held to be a pillow for a lazy god.

Another, the helmet of a man who, by the power of the gods, was turned to stone as he fled punishment for evildoing.

Which of the legends are true and which are untrue are matters of debate.

Which legends are authentic variations of the ancient folklore, and which are modern embellishments, are subject of further debate.

Had Hawaii had a written language, the truth about these sites would undoubtedly have been written and preserved, and probably the rich tradition of legends would never have developed.

Probably our Islands are more interesting today because they weren't written. Sometimes the truth takes the fun out of life entirely.

A20: 1963. “Legendary ‘Wizard Stones’ Are Restored At Waikiki.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 8, 11.

Legendary ‘Wizard Stones’ Are Restored At Waikiki

Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui, noted Hawaiiana expert, and Mayor Blaisdell inspect the new plaque marking the Wizard Stones of Kapaemahu.

Four large rocks protruding through the sand at the recently restored section of Kuhio Beach, next to the SurfRider Hotel, were marked last week with a bronze plaque installed by the Department of Parks and Recreation.

The rocks, according to the plaque, are the “Wizard Stones of Kapaemahu.” They were scarcely restored before vandals splashed them with red paint, now being removed.

Hawaiian legend says they were dedicated to four soothsayers who came to Oahu from Tahiti “long before the reign of King Kakuhihewa.” The famous king of Oahu reigned in the 16th century, at about the time Queen Elizabeth was on the English throne.

* * *

THE STONES were unearthed when restoration of the beach area, the former Cleghorn property, began late last year. The largest, weighing about eight tons, was discovered when the Waikiki Bowl building was demolished. It was evident that the rock had been brought from another locality, probably Kaimuki, as there was red dirt on it and it showed no signs of wave action.

The other three rocks, weighing about one, two and three tons respectively, were discovered in the area later.

* * *

BECAUSE OF their legendary interest, it was decided to retain the stones in the area. So as not to mar the landscape or interfere with the use of the beach, the stones are deeply imbedded in the sand.

In retaining the stones there, the Parks Department also fulfilled the wish of the late Governor A. S. Cleghorn whose will, made in 1910, said, “It is my wish and I hereby direct that the historic stones on the premises shall not be defaced or removed.”

The Cleghorn property was condemned by the City in 1958 for a public beach.

* * *

ACCORDING TO the legend, the names of the soothsayers were Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi. They were tall, handsome, kindly and soft spoken.

After a tour of the islands, they settled at Ulukou near the present site of the Moana Hotel. They became famous for their skill in the art of healing.

When the time came for them to leave, they asked for recognition in the form of four monumental tablets, two to be erected at the place of their abode and two at their usual bathing place in the sea.

* * *

SO FOUR large rocks were brought from the vicinity of the “bell rock,” in Kaimuki.

Kapaemahu, chief of the wizards, had his stone so named and transferred his powers to it. A virgin chieftess was sacrificed and her body placed beneath the stone. The other wizards also transferred their powers to the stones.

After the ceremonies, the wizards vanished and were seen no more.

The rocks were first unearthed in about 1907. It is said that Governor Cleghorn placed them where they had remained until recently unearthed.

A21: 1966. “Mystical Rocks At Kuhio Beach.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 18, 28.

Mystical Rocks At Kuhio Beach

Kuhio Beach park, a part of the larger Waikiki strip, is the place where you can see and photograph “The Wizard Stones of Kapaemahu.”

These four large rocks cropping up from the coral sands might look like ordinary rocks to you, but actually they contain a special mana or power.

According to Hawaiian legend, they were dedicated to four soothsayers who came to Oahu from Tahiti long before the reign of King Kamehameha.

Located on the former Cleghorn property, the rocks had been completely forgotten until the Waikiki building for bowling was torn down.

Then because of their unusual size, the rocks made the news and their legendary past was rediscovered.

The largest weighed about eight tons and the others weighed one, two and three tons each.

Honolulu officials decided, because of their fabled mana, to retain the stones at Kuhio beach, which takes its name from the former Hawaiian Prince Kuhio.

Due to their great size, the stones had to be partly buried in the sands so as not to interfere with the activities of bathers on the site.

Sometimes bikini-clad sunbathers perch on the Wizard Stones without even bothering to read the plaque that describes their legend-rich past.

It’s doubtful if any of the Hawaiian beachboys or surfers today would know the names of the quartet of stalwart wizards whom the stones represent.

Adept in the healing arts and generous in their use among the ancient Hawaiians, the soothsayers were called “Kapaemahu,” “Kahaloa,” “Kapuni” and “Kinohi.” They are supposed to have taken up residence on the sands where the Moana Hotel now stands.

A22: 1974. “Healing Stones At Kuhio Beach.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 6, F39.

The book "Incredible Hawaii" appears in chapter form each Sunday in The Star Bulletin & Advertiser. The book, which runs 52 chapters with pictures, delves into anecdotal scenes of little-known Hawaii

16 Waikiki and its kahuna stones

OVER THE CENTURIES THOSE WITH TIME TO relax have been attracted to Waikiki. A unique haven of beaches and sheltered waters with a rare climate of warmth, combined with cool northeast trade winds softened by the barrier of the Koolau range, create Waikiki. After the islands had been conquered, King Kamehameha set up a place of wood and stone there, and his descendants and the elite have favored it as a retreat ever since.

Today the scene has changed but much of the charm remains. The long stretches of beach from Ala Moana Park to Diamond Head can be walked with a few short bypasses such as at the Ala Wai Yacht Harbor. The concrete high-rise boom of the last decade has not changed the sea front with its blue horizons. A century ago coconut groves, fish ponds and swampy rice fields occupied the land where today modern hotels jostle for space.

The "kahuna stones" in the beach park next to the Surfrider Hotel are a vestige of the ancient lore. They are said to posess healing powers transferred to them by four priests from Tahiti: Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi, who lived in Hawaii before the reign of Oahu's ancient ruler, Kakuhihewa. Before returning to their homeland in the South Pacific, they endowed the stones with their power to heal, and the Hawaiians have held them in reverence ever since.

A23: Borg, Jim. 1980. "City's shifting of stones stirs spirits of ire." *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 20, A3.

The "Wizard Stones of Waikiki" at their new location share the beach with a pile of sewer pipes.

Advertiser photo

City's shifting of stones stirs spirits of ire

By JIM BORG
Advertiser Staff Writer

Hawaii traditionalists are irate about the handling of four boulders, described as the "Wizard Stones of Waikiki," which have been moved by the city to make way for construction of a public bathhouse near the Surfrider Hotel.

The city says the boulders have not been harmed and were given both Christian and Hawaiian blessings before they were moved about 30 feet up Kuhio Beach last month. Pat De Costa, a spokesman for the Department of Parks and Recreation, said there is no evidence, furthermore, that the former site, under a pandanus tree diamond head of the hotel, was the boulders' original location.

The boulders are now being stored next to some water and sewer pipes stacked at the construction site.

"If you have a set of stones, where they are and their relation to each other is important," said John Charlot, who teaches Hawaiian religion at the University of Hawaii. "The city told me they would take care of the stones, but this doesn't suggest that."

According to a Hawaiian oral tradition, the stones possess the spiritual power, or *mana*, of four Tahitian *kahunas* who came to Oahu in the 16th century. According to a plaque on one stone, "before vanishing, the wizards transferred their powers to these stones."

As described by Madame Pele devotee Leatrice Ballesteros, the spirits are Kapaemahu, a healer and male; Kahaloa, a beneficent female; Kapuni, an evil male; and Kinohi, a female who brings blessings to homes.

De Costa said the boulders were moved several weeks ago after a blessing from Lani Davis. Reached by telephone yesterday, Davis acknowledged blessing the stones, but said she was too tired to discuss the matter further.

Said Leonard Lueras, who mentions the boulders in his guidebook, "Hawaii," "They're probably the last vestage of anything ancient and classical in Waikiki."

A24: Jindra, James. 1980. "Wizard Stones of Kapaemāhū." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 27, A14.

Wizard Stones of Kapaemahu

I have a personal reason for keeping track of the Four Wizard Stones of Kapaemahu, located on what was once the Cleghorn property.

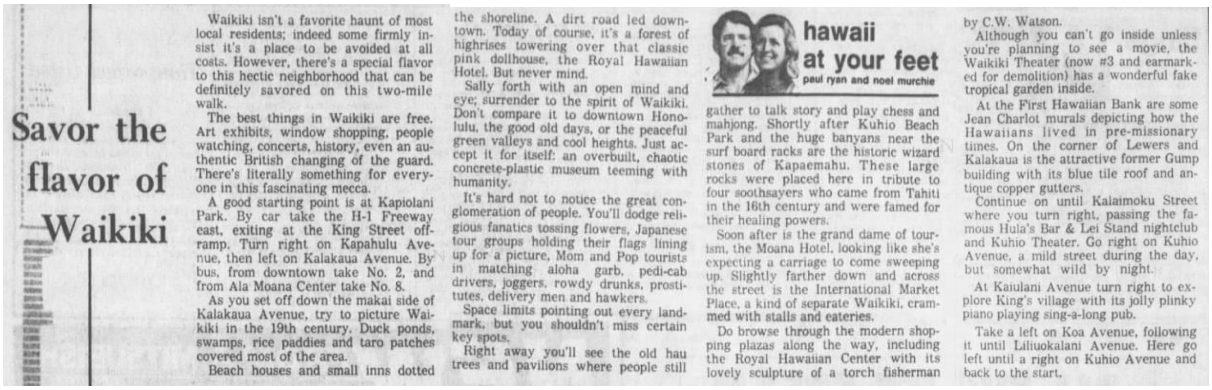
You see, my brother and his wife, who live in New York, occasionally write and ask me to go to Waikiki and touch the stones for them. They're sure it will hasten their next visit to Hawaii.

But, whether or not their impression is accurate, I'm pleased that the relocation of the stones has once again brought them to public notice. Hopefully more of the legend-history of the Wizards will come to light.

I have long held my own impressions concerning the stones and their history: for instance that the four Tahitian holy men had departed O'ahu long before the reign of King Kakuhihewa; and that they were "rediscovered" when the old building that had been used for bowling in Waikiki was torn down; and that city officials at the time doubtless decided to keep them at the site not only because of their fabled mana, but also because Gov. A. S. Cleghorn's will, drawn up around 1910, specified that they be kept there and not be defaced.

James Jindra

A25: 1986. “Savor the flavor of Waikiki.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 16, C5.



Savor the flavor of Waikiki

Waikiki isn't a favorite haunt of most local residents; indeed some firmly insist it's a place to be avoided at all costs. However, there's a special flavor to this hectic neighborhood that can be definitely savored on this two-mile walk.

The best things in Waikiki are free. Art exhibits, window shopping, people watching, concerts, history, even an authentic British changing of the guard. There's literally something for everyone in this fascinating mecca.

A good starting point is at Kapiolani Park. By car take the H-1 Freeway east, exiting at the King Street offramp. Turn right on Kapahulu Avenue, then left on Kalakaua Avenue. By bus, from downtown take No. 2, and from Ala Moana Center take No. 8.

As you set off down the makai side of Kalakaua Avenue, try to picture Waikiki in the 19th century. Duck ponds, swamps, rice paddies and taro patches covered most of the area.

Beach houses and small inns dotted the shoreline. A dirt road led downtown. Today of course, it's a forest of highrises towering over that classic pink dollhouse, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. But never mind.

Sally forth with an open mind and eye; surrender to the spirit of Waikiki. Don't compare it to downtown Honolulu, the good old days, or the peaceful green valleys and cool heights. Just accept it for itself: an overbuilt, chaotic concrete-plastic museum teeming with humanity.

It's hard not to notice the great conglomeration of people. You'll dodge religious fanatics tossing flowers, Japanese tour groups holding their flags lining up for a picture, Mom and Pop tourists in matching aloha garb, pedi-cab drivers, joggers, rowdy drunks, prostitutes, delivery men and hawkers.

Space limits pointing out every landmark, but you shouldn't miss certain key spots.

Right away you'll see the old hau trees and pavilions where people still

hawaii at your feet

paul ryan and noel murchie

gather to talk story and play chess and mahjong. Shortly after Kuhio Beach Park and the huge banyans near the surf board racks are the historic wizard stones of Kapaemahu. These large rocks were placed here in tribute to four soothsayers who came from Tahiti in the 16th century and were famed for their healing powers.

Soon after is the grand dame of tourism, the Moana Hotel, looking like she's expecting a carriage to come sweeping up. Slightly farther down and across the street is the International Market Place, a kind of separate Waikiki, crammed with stalls and eateries.

Do browse through the modern shopping plazas along the way, including the Royal Hawaiian Center with its lovely sculpture of a torch fisherman by C.W. Watson.

Although you can't go inside unless you're planning to see a movie, the Waikiki Theater (now #3 and earmarked for demolition) has a wonderful fake tropical garden inside.

At the First Hawaiian Bank are some Jean Charlot murals depicting how the Hawaiians lived in pre-missionary times. On the corner of Lewers and Kalakaua is the attractive former Gump building with its blue tile roof and antique copper gutters.

Continue on until Kalaimoku Street where you turn right, passing the famous Hula's Bar & Lei Stand nightclub and Kuhio Theater. Go right on Kuhio Avenue, a mild street during the day, but somewhat wild by night.

At Kaiulani Avenue turn right to explore King's village with its jolly plinky piano playing sing-a-long pub.

Take a left on Koa Avenue, following it until Liliuokalani Avenue. Here go left until a right on Kuhio Avenue and back to the start.

A26: Tarallo-Jensen, Lucia. 1987. “Ala Wai Canal Erased Waikiki’s ‘Golden Era’.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 17, 18 C3.

Ala Wai Canal Erased Waikiki's 'Golden Era'

By Lucia Tarallo-Jensen

THE famous Hawaiian historian Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau wrote:

"Upon Mailekukahi becoming king, he was taken early by the chiefs to reside at Waikiki, and that perhaps was the origin of the residence of chiefs at Waikiki, because Waialua was the place formerly of the residence of chiefs, as also Ewa."

Mailekukahi was a 15th century high chief who epitomized the best of that "golden era" in Hawaiian history where human heroes naturally transmutated into mythological gods and spiritually real guardian ancestors.

From his time up until that of Kamehameha I, the last high chief of that fabled age, Waikiki became the favorite resort of Hawaiian chiefs.

Waikiki! Wai Kiki! The Land of Shooting Water, referring to the many springs, streams, freshwater and saltwater ponds that started at the ocean and extended far inland. The original village of Waikiki centered around the mouth of 'Apuakehau Stream, which at one time debouched near the present-day Moana Hotel.

TODAY, THERE are no streams that run through Waikiki to empty into the ocean. In 1919 the digging of the Waikiki Canal, later known as the Ala Wai, changed for good the entire topography known as modern-day Waikiki.

With funds appropriated by the Waikiki Reclamation Project, the streams, fish ponds and saltwater ponds, left neglected by their neglected culture, had over the short years created a health hazard and, of course, more importantly to the people of the Reclamation Project, an eyesore to the community.

Hence, the large drainage canal was commenced. It took nine years to build and aided in forever obliterating the historical sites of that ancient district.

J.N. Cobb, representative for 1901 and 1902, published a pamphlet for the U.S. Fishing Commission entitled "Commercial Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands."

In it he lists 14 fishponds in use at Kalia (the area known as Kalia Road where the Reef Hotel now stands) and Waikiki. He goes on to say that those fishponds in Waikiki were fresh water and in use until 1901. He seemed to think that formerly the number must have been considerably greater.

IN 1790 CAPT. John Meares mentioned Capt. Douglas' encounter with High Chief Kahekilinui'ahumanu, then residing in Waikiki. During that visit, Kahekili showed Capt. Douglas around the village of Waikiki pointing out the vast plantations, taro patches and royal fishponds teeming with fish.

He also mentioned some other ponds that were stocked with turtles. Capt. Andrew Bloxom, visiting these islands in 1824, continued by adding that:

"The whole distance to the village of Whyteete (Waikiki) is taken up with innumerable artificial fishponds extending a mile inland from the shore. . . . The ponds are several hundred in number and are the resort of wild ducks and other water fowl."

The fishponds, the plantations, the legendary taro patches, which in some instances were also stocked with fish, no longer exist. The fishponds and taro patches were drained and filled.

The famous salt marshes, a haven for the *pueo* (owl) and water fowl are non-existent. Although considered quite beautiful, the present-day area does not echo the ethereal beauty of bygone days. That is lost forever.

AND WHAT can we say of the sacred sites? Modern-day Waikiki, world-famous Waikiki, in its entirety, has been stripped of all of its *wahi pana* or "sacred places."

As was true of all other central chiefly sites, Waikiki was a nucleus, boasting of a high chief, retinue, tenders of the land, etc. There were houses, composed of chiefly compounds for women and men, storage complexes for food, priestly quarters, shrines and temples.

In history and chants, one such sacred place stands out above all the rest: the ancient heiau (temple) of Helumoa, previously located near the Royal Hawaiian Hotel at Helumoa Road.

This mighty temple, presided over by the Guardian Entity known as Ka'auhelemoa, symbolized by the image of a fowl, was known to have been the site where enemies of the state were executed.

Helu means "scratch" and *moa* means "fowl" or "hen." The spiritual symbolism implies a fowl's function of "scratching," and in the case of this temple, "finding maggots in the bodies of the victims executed at the temple."

In 1783, High Chief Kahekili rededicated the heiau of Papa'ena'ena (foot of Diamond Head at Kapiolani Park), built to succeed the prestige of Helumoa, in recognition of his victory in the sanguinary battle fought at Niuhelewai, Kapalama where he defeated High Chief Kahahana and conquered the island of O'ahu.

Kahahana was dedicated to the Ancestral Gods for the indignities that the O'ahu chiefs had perpetrated upon his (Kahekili's) ancestors High Chief Kauhi-a-Kama, a 16th century chief who had been similarly executed and dedicated at Helumoa. The heiau was demolished, probably during the Iconoclastic Reformation period of 1819 when the majority of the state temples were destroyed.

WAIKIKI! The Land of Shooting Water! The royal village, containing fishponds, wondrous gardens, spiritually imbued taro patches called Keokea, Ku'alu'alu, Kalamanamana, not to mention the *ali'i's* athletic field of Kahuamokomoko at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel site, all joined to create a perfectly balanced ecological and anthropological representation of Hawai'i's past.

If you should be walking through that part of Waikiki described above, and perhaps have a mad desire to experience something original . . . something ancient . . . something not of our world today . . . something that bespeaks a culture from whose origin the essence of these islands emerged, you might want to stroll over to the Waikiki Beach Center, on the land once called Nanapua, just beyond Ulukou.

There, midst surfboards and other modern-day beach paraphernalia you will find possibly the only material thing left in Waikiki belonging to the ancient past. "The Wizard Stones"! "The Wizard Stones of Ka-pae-mahu"!

WHAT MAKES these stones very, very special is that they alone survived the Americanization of Waikiki. These four 16th century boulders commemorating the arrival and departure of four Tahitian kahuna hold the secrets of that unique kingdom of long ago.

Lucia Tarallo-Jensen is a writer and historian currently working on a screenplay and a book documenting the lives of women of Old Hawaii.

By Frank Jensen

WATER OF LIFE—Akua Kumupa'a Kane is represented as the "giver of the water of life," the water that at one time nourished Waikiki. The water filters through the four "wizard stones," cascading into the hand of Kamehameha I, the last ali'i from the old order to have used Waikiki as his kingdom home.

A27: Kennedy, Ed. 1995. "A mele for the stones of Kapaemāhū – Waikiki: Remembering the Stones of Kapaemāhū." *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 27, D1; D6.

Advertiser file photo

The late Mary Kawena Pukui, one of the most noted contemporary writers on Hawaiiana, and Neil Blaisdell, a former mayor of Honolulu, at the 1963 dedication ceremony for the historical plaque placed on the Stones of Kapaemahu.

A mele for the Stones of Kapaemahu

By Ed Kennedy
Advertiser Travel Editor

Several hundred years ago, on the beach at Waikiki, four rather mysterious men came to stay for a time at a place then known as Ulukou.

Ulukou ("the kou tree grove") was the area of Waikiki where the Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel now stands. Ulukou was at the heart of the Waikiki community in those days (as it remains today), and the famous heiau of Helumoa stood nearby.

This heiau was near the banks of a stream known as Apuakehau which entered the ocean just about where the Outrigger Waikiki Hotel is located, and divided the beach lands into those of Ulukou on the diamandhead side of the stream and those of Kahaloa, near the present site of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

No traces of Apuakehau Stream remain in Waikiki (it was eliminated in the Waikiki Reformation Project in 1926) except for a channel it cut into the ocean bottom and out through the reef, which still creates a recognizable pattern of waves off-shore known to surfers as "Cornucopia."

But on the banks of this stream, sometime before the 16th-century reign of the famous Oahu chief known as Kakuhihewa (who brought a period of peace and stability to the island, and who also had a home in Waikiki), four men came here to stay for a time on the beach at Waikiki before departing Hawaii as mysteriously as they had come.

Interestingly, the names of these men are still known. They are Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi. The stories say they came from the south, probably from Tahiti.

Little else is known about them except for one clear detail: the fame of their good works. The old stories say they arrived unheralded and unknown, but eventually gained prominence throughout the Islands as healers.

They must have had something, because they created such an impact on the society of that time that it was proposed, upon news of their eminent departure, that some visible commemorative be established to mark their sojourn in Hawaii, and to recall to mind their memory for future generations.

Consequently, four huge stones weighing several thousand pounds each were chosen. It is said they were found in the vicinity of a well-known bell stone, which was said to have been located in Kaimuki near where Sacred Hearts Academy is today. (These bell stones – there are several known throughout the Islands – are composed of an unusually dense form of nephalinitic basalt which produces a bell-like ringing tone when struck. Hawaiians of the time called them *pohaku kani*, "sound stone," or *pohaku kikeke*, "knocking stone."

It was said the entire community participated in the moving of the four huge stones to Waikiki on the night of Kane. Each of the *kahuna* gave his name to a specific stone. The stone known as *Kapaemahu* (the largest of the four) and the one known as *Kinohi* were placed where the men had resided at Ulukou.

The stone called *Kapuni* was located in the shallows on the beach where the men used to bathe (today, this area is called "Baby Queens" by surfers). The last stone,

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Waikiki: Remembering the Stones of Kapaemahu

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known as *Kahaloa*, was placed on the ewa side of Apuakehau Stream, also within reach of the water, on the beach fronting today's Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

Following the placing of the stones, it is said that a series of rituals were held, during which each *kahuna* transferred a portion of his *mana* to his respective stone, to remain as part of Hawaii and its people. The stones became, in a sense, sacred objects, visible receptacles of that which, by its very nature, can only remain unspoken. They remained in place until modern times. (The beaches on which the *Kapuni* and *Kahaloa* stones sat eventually took these names.)

But by the early 1900's the stones and what they represented had become largely submerged in the turmoil of political and social change. Although still in place, they had become almost buried in the sands of Waikiki. The area had come to be the property of Princess Likelike and her husband, Gov. Archibald Cleghorn. Their estate was known as Ainahau. It is said that it was the custom of Princess Likelike to place a lei on the stones when she went into the water at Ulukou. After her death in 1887 and the death of the couple's daughter, Princess Kaiulani (which devastated Cleghorn) in 1899, the old widower was careful to have the stones restored and left instructions in his will that they should never "be removed from said premises."

But gradually the stones retreated into obscurity again, and the land passed on to other hands. In 1941 a bowling alley was constructed on the site, the stones were moved, and it is believed that parts of them were broken away in the construction. After the city took over the site as a beach park in 1958 the stones were once again unearthed and their story was retold in the media. By then they had acquired a new nickname, being called the "Wizard" Stones of Kapaemahu.

The stones were repositioned twice more, once in 1963 when their story was again told in the local papers and a historical plaque affixed to one of them; and a second time in 1980 (their story once again coming to light), before coming to rest in their present position next to the Waikiki police substation – if not in their originally designated places, at least within their traditional grounds.

And there they sit.

Today, these four huge stones, resting mutely in the sand in the very center of what is probably the busiest area of Waikiki, are largely ignored by the hoards of beach goers who swarm in and around and over their gray-brown visages each day. Amidst the crowds of sun-reddened tourists, of the kids and crying babies, of the characters with parrots, of showoffs, of the cutie-pies and muscle boys, of gawkers and hawkers, and the swirls of surfers and swimmers and peaceful strollers that ebb and flow around the stones like human surf, these stones are simply part of the landscape, a bench to sit upon, a backrest, a cranny for hiding beach trash. And yet they are not quite forgotten.

Advertiser photo by Andy Barron

The four Stones of Kapaemahu, where they now rest on the beach.

Down through the years the old stones continue to turn up periodically as anecdotal material on historical walks, cute sidebars in travel magazines, points of interest in guide books, occasional mentions in collections of memoirs, as footnotes in archaeological studies and also, and perhaps just as signifigantly, in newspaper stories such as the one you are reading now.

If you think about it, it is a remarkable achievement. Unthinking people say, "Oh, they are only big rocks." But modern society has a profound propensity for grinding down the big rocks of our past, no matter how signifigant they once were. Yet these stones, in the heart of the most highly developed – and eagerly sought after – piece of real estate in the Hawaiian Islands, prevail.

And for those who have had the interest, or at least the patience, to read this far into the story of the stones, it might be of interest to note that the Stones of Kapaemahu have come into the awareness of at least a small segment of the current residents of the Islands yet once again. Here. On this page.

A contemporary retelling of the stones' tale in the newspaper is merely one form of the continuation of a very long, yet remarkably persistent pattern emerging from the shadows of Hawaii's pre-contact past. It is an electronic *mele* of sorts, no longer sung, couched in a *haole* language, typed upon a newspaper word processor, retold in a form unknown and unimagined to its original listeners, yet still calling out the names of Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi, just as they were chanted when the stones were brought down to Ulukou.

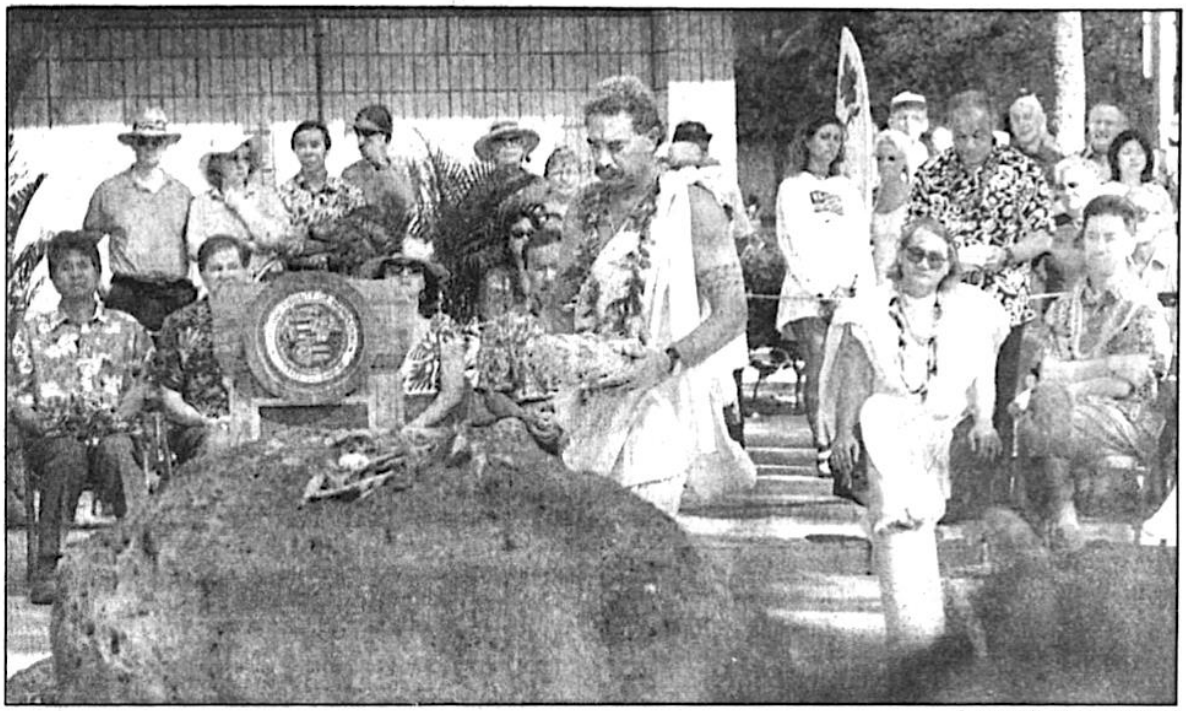
Perhaps this has something to do with *mana*. I don't know. We have to be careful. It must always be remembered that words are just words. The map is never the territory.

I just know that in the heavy silence of the Stones of Kapaemahu lies an eloquence that transcends their weathered reality. You can experience it. And you can see them any time you wish. All you have to do is go down to the beach.

(Holoholo Hawaii is a weekly column about travel especially for Islanders.)

A28: Asato, Bruce. 1997. "'Wizard Stones' Blessed." *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 7, 1.

'Wizard Stones' blessed



Bruce Asato/The Honolulu Advertiser

Stone mason Billy Fields presents a *ho'okupu*, or offering, during a blessing ceremony for the four "Wizard Stones" at Waikiki Beach near the Duke Kahanamoku statue. The stones — whose proper name is Na Pohaku Ola o Kapaemahu a me Kapuni — are a tribute to four legendary Tahitian healers who came to Hawaii in ancient times. Yesterday's blessing was held in preparation for construction work that will build a raised platform and protective fence for the stones, with an interpretative sign to tell of their significance.

A29: Barrett, Greg. 1997. "Healing stones finally get some respect." *Honolulu Advertiser,* April 2, 1.

Healing stones finally get some respect

David Scull/The Honolulu Advertiser

The boulders that for centuries have memorialized four Tahitian healers are installed on a new platform near the Waikiki police substation.

Waikiki landmarks are being enshrined

By Greg Barrett
Advertiser Staff Writer

Queen Emma Foundation's 143 ideas for restoring Hawaiianness to Waikiki got a tad heavy at No. 83 — even for a 25-ton Grove crane, which struggled yesterday with a mystery that's baffled Hawaii for centuries.

For several hours yesterday morning, a towering crane grunted and groaned as it gingerly placed each of four basalt boulders weighing several tons apiece on a platform buttressed by lava rock.

On April 9, a completed shrine dressed in plants, pebbles and framed by a fancy wrought-iron fence will house the revered rocks, called wizard or healing stones, next to the Waikiki police substation.

This stone sanctuary was the idea of George Kanahele, author of Queen Emma's book of 143 ideas titled "Restoring Hawaiianness to Waikiki" — required reading by the Legislature for anyone applying for a development permit in Waikiki.

More than 3,500 copies of the book, published in July 1994, were given to people in the hotel and tourism industry, legislators, builders,

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real-estate people, business people and whomever requested it.

In it, Kanahele stresses the need for things such as: using Hawaiian words to name hotel meeting rooms, posting signs along Waikiki's coastline explaining its natural ecology, organizing walking tours to explain Waikiki's rich past.

But of all the ideas, Kanahele said, he considers the shrine for Waikiki's healing stones one of the book's most significant: "We're trying to restore some of Waikiki's historical, cultural integrity."

Kanahele also is the author of "Waikiki 100 B.C. to 1900 A.D.: An Untold Story."

According to Hawaiian legend, four healers from Moaulanuiakea in the Society Islands lived in the Ulukou area of Waikiki before the 15th century. They spread wellness and relieved pain throughout Oahu for chiefs and commoners, said Richard Paglinawan, a special assistant to the Queen Emma Foundation, which is paying the shrine's $75,000 cost.

Before returning home, the healers asked the Hawaiian people to erect four monuments made from bell stone, a basalt rock that was in a Kaimuki quarry and that produced a bell-like ringing when struck.

The mystery is how the boulders were transported about 500 years ago across the marshland to near Kuhio Beach.

Some historians consider the rocks Oahu's version of the Egyptian pyramids.

The boulders have "enormous cultural significance," said Kanahele. During a month-long ceremony, the Tahitian healers are said to have transferred their names — Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi — and their *mana,* or spiritual power, to the stones.

But in the centuries since, the boulders have been chipped, broken and buried beneath a Waikiki bowling alley, Paglinawan said. When the bowling alley was razed in the 1960s, they were placed near Kuhio Beach.

Now, Paglinawan said, "We want to return the *mana.*"

Gone are the days of tourists draping wet towels over the stones. No more standing or jumping or sleeping on them. No more fast-food lunches spread across them like picnics.

"Lack of understanding has been part of the problem," Paglinawan said. "People see the stones and they just don't realize they are something sacred."

Hilo's Papa Henry Auwae, a 91-year-old traditional Hawaiian healer, fixed his focus on the stones for more than two hours yesterday, as if he were moving them with his stare.

He later blessed each rock, blessed the site and blessed the very shrine that Kanahele says will become a "Mecca of sorts" for students and patients of traditional healing.

"Waikiki's significance is as a place of history, not destination," Kanahele said standing near Kuhio Beach. "We have our own pyramid equivalent right here."

A30: 1997. “The healing stones: History returns to Waikiki.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 7, A6.

The healing stones

History returns to Waikiki

Whether you believe in *mana* or the magical powers of four basalt boulders, the re-establishment of Waikiki's "healing stones" near Kuhio Beach is a welcome addition to the neighborhood.

Thanks to the generous help of the Queen Emma Foundation, these boulders add history and context of ancient Hawaiian life to an area dwarfed by high-rise hotels and convenience stores. Treated with respect — not as handy backrests for tired pedestrians — the stones can stand as a reminder of a time when these Islands were something other than a tourist destination.

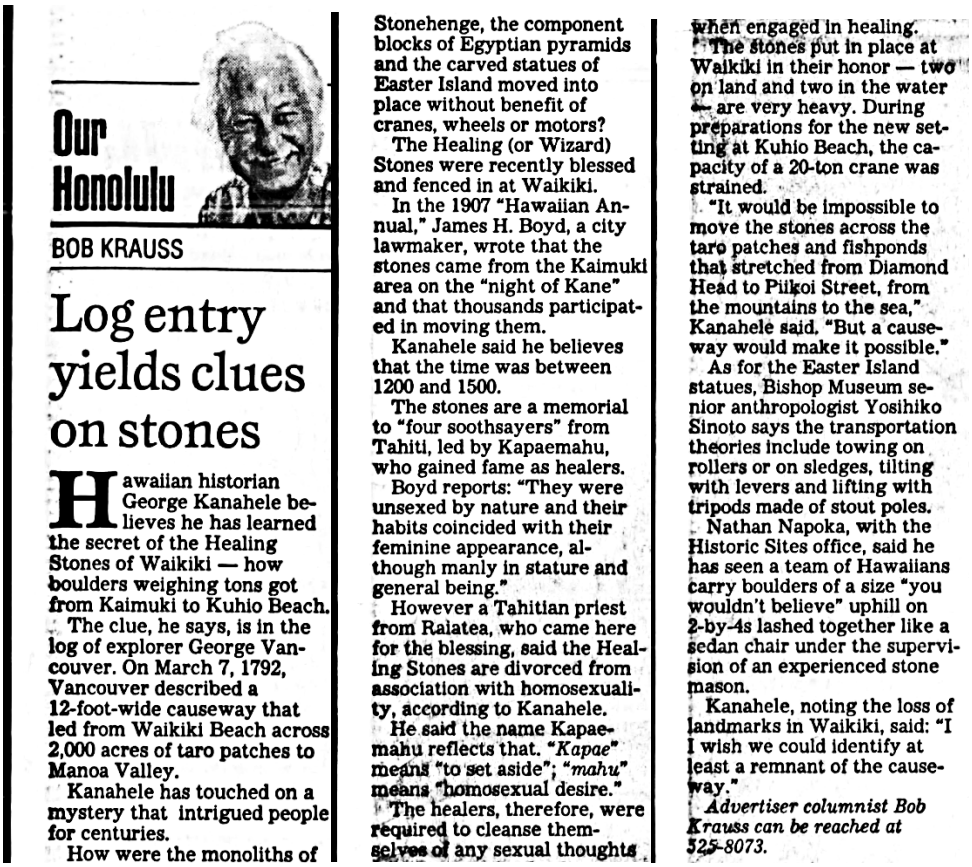
Blessed by Tahitian healers centuries ago, the boulders were once part of our native civilization's bedrock. Like much of that culture, they had been pushed aside, as modern Hawaii evolved. As construction reshaped the old Waikiki marshes, the healing stones were literally buried — under a bowling alley, of all things.

What the stones offer today is perspective. Hawaii is more than a sunny respite from harsher lands. Much of the state's image can now be duplicated around the world — anywhere there are sandy beaches, gentle winds and friendly people.

What can't be matched is our history. The healing stones Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi are emblems of Hawaii's lore. By returning them to a prominent locale, they will serve not only as a potential meeting spot for native groups but as touchstones to the past.

To many, these stones are sacred. That means they must be treated with respect. And then they will offer visitors and residents alike a connection to what Hawaii used to be.

A31: Krauss, Bob. 1997. "Log entry yields clues on stones." *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 20, 23.



Our Honolulu

BOB KRAUSS

Log entry yields clues on stones

Hawaiian historian George Kanahele believes he has learned the secret of the Healing Stones of Waikiki — how boulders weighing tons got from Kaimuki to Kuhio Beach.

The clue, he says, is in the log of explorer George Vancouver. On March 7, 1792, Vancouver described a 12-foot-wide causeway that led from Waikiki Beach across 2,000 acres of taro patches to Manoa Valley.

Kanahele has touched on a mystery that intrigued people for centuries.

How were the monoliths of Stonehenge, the component blocks of Egyptian pyramids and the carved statues of Easter Island moved into place without benefit of cranes, wheels or motors?

The Healing (or Wizard) Stones were recently blessed and fenced in at Waikiki.

In the 1907 "Hawaiian Annual," James H. Boyd, a city lawmaker, wrote that the stones came from the Kaimuki area on the "night of Kane" and that thousands participated in moving them.

Kanahele said he believes that the time was between 1200 and 1500.

The stones are a memorial to "four soothsayers" from Tahiti, led by Kapaemahu, who gained fame as healers.

Boyd reports: "They were unsexed by nature and their habits coincided with their feminine appearance, although manly in stature and general being."

However a Tahitian priest from Ralatea, who came here for the blessing, said the Healing Stones are divorced from association with homosexuality, according to Kanahele.

He said the name Kapaemahu reflects that. "*Kapae*" means "to set aside"; "*mahu*" means "homosexual desire."

The healers, therefore, were required to cleanse themselves of any sexual thoughts when engaged in healing.

The stones put in place at Waikiki in their honor — two on land and two in the water — are very heavy. During preparations for the new setting at Kuhio Beach, the capacity of a 20-ton crane was strained.

"It would be impossible to move the stones across the taro patches and fishponds that stretched from Diamond Head to Piikoi Street, from the mountains to the sea," Kanahele said. "But a causeway would make it possible."

As for the Easter Island statues, Bishop Museum senior anthropologist Yosihiko Sinoto says the transportation theories include towing on rollers or on sledges, tilting with levers and lifting with tripods made of stout poles.

Nathan Napoka, with the Historic Sites office, said he has seen a team of Hawaiians carry boulders of a size "you wouldn't believe" uphill on 2-by-4s lashed together like a sedan chair under the supervision of an experienced stone mason.

Kanahele, noting the loss of landmarks in Waikiki, said: "I I wish we could identify at least a remnant of the causeway."

Advertiser columnist Bob Krauss can be reached at 525-8073.

A32: Smyser, A. A. 1999. "On the trail of historic Waikiki." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 26, 11.

HAWAII'S WORLD

By A.A. Smyser

▲▲▲

On the trail of historic Waikiki

THE tally on installed markers for a Waikiki Historic Trail is nine in place, six others pretty well committed and five to go — total 20.

The trail should do a lot to promote awareness of Waikiki back to the years when Hawaiian chiefs made it Oahu's seat of government for nearly four centuries.

Thousands of people lived, worked and fished among its countless fishponds and vast taro fields extending from the shore to the foothills of Manoa Valley.

The historical markers use text developed by Hawaiiana specialist George Kanahele and are part of a much larger Hawaiian awareness program he has been urging for Waikiki. They will tell the story in considerable detail to history buffs or, at a fairly quick glance, to headline readers.

The No. 1 marker is at the Kapahulu Groin in Waikiki. No. 20 is the King Kalakaua statue at the intersection of Kalakaua and Kuhio Avenues. Both coastal and inland markers are in between. Ideally a printed brochure will guide persons along the trail.

The volunteer honcho of the work is Charles H. Palumbo, an architect who "really fell in love with the project" and labors on a not-for-profit basis to persuade hotels and estates to fund markers for their properties. He has the blessing of the City and County of Honolulu, which has funded several markers, and the Waikiki Improvement Association.

Except where statues or monuments already were in place, as with those for Duke Kahanamoku and King Kalakaua, the markers will be bronze surfboards made with stainless steel and precast concrete to stand some eight feet high. Cost: $12,500 each.

Surfboard markers now are at the Kapahulu Groin, Prince Kuhio Beach, 'Aina Hau Park/Triangle on Kuhio Avenue, Duke's Beach in front of the Hilton Hawaiian Village and on the Ala Wai side of the Hawaii Convention Center.

Other existing sites on the trail are the Kapaemahu Healer's Stones at Kuhio Beach and the Moana Hotel, a monument itself as Waikiki's first hotel.

The Historic Trail likely will be the most tangible accomplishment in "Restoring Hawaiianness to Waikiki" as advocated five years ago in a publication authored by Kanahele through the WAIAHA Foundation chaired by Kenneth Brown.

LAST July, the WAIAHA Foundation issued a follow-up publication enumerating 74 ideas on which some action has been taken, 69 on which little action has been taken and 41 new recommendations for a total of 181.

Areas of progress include the pending clean-up of the Ala Wai Canal, incorporation of Hawaiiana into the Diamond Head State Monument Master Plan, marine life conservation, promotion of torch fishing off Waikiki, hotels putting up signage to identify Hawaiian plants as at Hale Koa and Hilton Hawaiian Village, promotion of more Hawaiian awareness by hotel employees, more use of the words aloha and mahalo, employee singing groups and song contests, more use of common Hawaiian terms (kane, wahine, mauka, makai), strolling street musicians, a revival of walking tours, more benches and chairs along the Ala Wai and Kuhio Beach.

He would like to see a Preservation Hall created after the fashion of the jazz Preservation Hall in New Orleans and wishes hotels could find it in their budgets to present more floral leis to their guests.

He counted at least 25 hotels, restaurants or night clubs in Waikiki that offer some form of Hawaiian entertainment. Thus this situation may not be as desperate as some seem to think.

A.A. Smyser is the Star-Bulletin's contributing editor. His column runs Tuesday and Thursday.

A33: Kanahele, George. 2000. “Locals might find paradise in a most unlikely place.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, Jul 30, 37.

Locals might find paradise in a most unlikely place

By George S. Kanahele

For years I avoided Waikīkī like the plague. Too many tourists, no parking, concrete jungle, and so on — you know all the familiar excuses. Even after I wrote a book on the history of Waikīkī and two published reports filled with suggestions for "restoring Hawaiianness to Waikīkī," I went there on business and seldom for pleasure.

Well, I've repented. Mine is the old story of the convert turned fanatic.

One day while on my regular fast-walk around Kapi'olani Park, I decided to do something I had not done since high school: walk down Kalākaua along Kūhiō Beach for fun. The first thing that caught my eye on the beach next to the Wall (sounds better than the "Groin") was something I had never seen before: four guys playing volleyball, using only their legs, heads and chests. The next thing that caught my eye was the large number of locals boogie boarding (I counted about 50) and others just playing around and enjoying themselves in the sand.

Mingling with the Duke

My first thought was: Who said locals don't come to Waikīkī?

Once past the chess players under the hau tree trellises, I started bumping into all kinds of people on the sidewalk: sweaty joggers, a couple sneaking a kiss, two guys holding hands, a father and mother with three kids in tow, a bunch of hi-fying teenagers and one lone figure standing on the edge of the sidewalk staring at some spot on the horizon.

At the Duke Kahanamoku statue, I saw at least a dozen people snapping photos of each other and asking willing passersby to take their picture. "One, two, three, cheese!" I couldn't help imagining a smile on the Duke's larger-than-life face. Who knows how many tens of thousands of visitors have smiled with him.

I walked on the crowded beach (where I once learned to surf), making my way through sun-tanning bodies, and several groups of young males and females with surf or boogie boards. For a moment I assumed they were locals until I heard them speak Japanese or Chinese. I was mildly shocked to see amid all this a couple lying on the sand with a newspaper barely concealing their interlocked bodies.

Getting personal in public

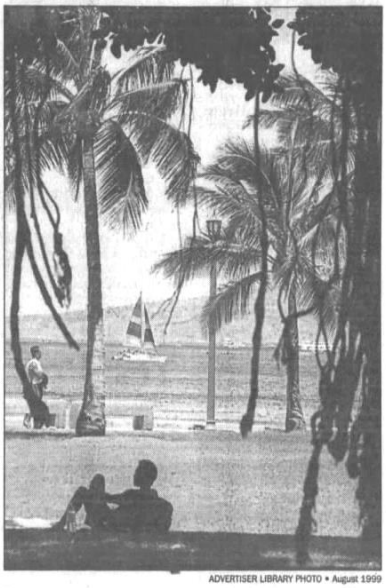
In front of the police substation, I had to smile at a half dozen Japanese visitors having their picture taken with a somewhat reluctant police officer.

(I later learned that every police officer in Waikīkī is a photo op for camera toting Japanese. "Grin and bear it" is what Honolulu's "finest" are instructed to do. They are also being told that in Waikīkī they are to act as hosts.

When I approached the Moana Surfrider, I had to stop to look at beaming newlyweds in Western wedding attire having their pictures taken on the hotel's very public entry way. I couldn't help but feel embarrassed and happy for them at the same time. I don't think I would have wanted to share such a moment of bliss with gawking passersby like me.

In front of the Outrigger, I encountered a birdman trying to negotiate a photo op with three giggling teenagers. At the same time I saw something I thought had disappeared from Waikīkī: a woman sewing and selling plumeria lei on the sidewalk (which I later learned was illegal).

Then, across the street in front of Liberty House, above the din of the traffic, I heard the noise two street musicians were causing that should have justified any city ban on their ilk.



ADVERTISER LIBRARY PHOTO • August 1999

The tourist industry might have promoted paradise to death. However, the positive energy that WaikĪkĪ exudes suggests it still exists.

Happiness and healing

When I reached the heartland of Waikīkī at Lewers and Kalākaua, I crossed the street and headed back to the park. On the way, I joined the mini-crowds that stopped to enjoy the street sideshows such as the gold-painted pantominist and the tatooist. By the time I had reached Kapahulu, the sun was sinking beyond the eastern horizon, bathing the place in a shower of short-lived colors.

I didn't realize how quickly the sun sets in Waikīkī.

Since this first jaunt into Waikīkī, I've returned many times, at least once a week. My old mindless arrogance has gone. As a kama'aina host, I don't see nameless tourists any more but my guests — nearly 65,000 of them every day — who choose to come to my Waikīkī for no other reason than to be happy. Why should I begrudge them that?

If happiness is positive energy, I tell myself, what other 500 acres of topsoil could generate more "good vibes" than Waikīkī?

If positive energy is healthy (and there's a lot of scientific evidence for this) and Waikīkī is full of it, it's the kind of place I want my mind and body to be in. So, now my walks in Waikīkī have turned into little pilgrimages of personal healing.

Ironically, I know from my studies of ancient Waikīkī that it was a place of healing, a fact that is symbolized today by the Healing Stones (Na Pōhaku Ola o Kāpaemahu a me Kapuni), the monument (located next to the police substation on Kūhiō Beach) that honors the miracles performed centuries ago by the quartet of healers from Raiatea who came as mysteriously as they left.

The only downside to walking for exercise in Waikīkī is having to stop too many times to talk with friends or acquaintances lest they think you rude or unfriendly. It's hard to be unfriendly in Waikīkī. I even stop to talk with strangers, but I must admit this happens only rarely — usually when someone needs help.

Power of the place

During my anti-Waikīkī period, I can't recall meeting any locals who felt deeply about Waikīkī, but now I can't avoid them.

I met one last week who's sold his home on Wilhelmina Rise and moved to an apartment in Waikīkī because "he feels the power of the place." Another convert came out of an intended retirement to dedicate his life to returning a "Hawaiian sense of place" to Waikīkī. Still another, a Hawaiian who spent her youth in Waikīkī, decided to mark her conversion by changing her vote.

I've heard the power brokers say more locals should come to Waikīkī to help business there.

I say more locals should come to Waikīkī to help themselves — to be re-enchanted, re-energized, and re-connected to its past, present and future.

George S. Kanahele is a writer and consultant on Hawaiian culture.

A34: Thompson, Cha. 2002. “Step into the past on historic trails.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 7, 52.

service as Duke has should be given the [illegible] and encouragement [illegible]

Ganley

Step into the past on historic trails

The delights and success of the Historic Lahaina Trail on Maui are wonderful. Thanks to George Kanahele, the same can be said of the Waikiki Historic Trail on Oahu, which is in two phases: the Queen's Tour, on and around Kalakaua Avenue, and the Kalia Tour, beginning at the Bishop Museum on the grounds of the Hilton Hawaiian Village and ending at Fort DeRussey.

Despite the density of buildings and the crowds of people, one can still be mesmerized by the storytelling of the historians, who show you the exact spot where the home of Princess Kaiulani's home stood; or describe the taro patches and duck ponds that were in the middle of Waikiki until 1920; or explain the excitement when Duke Kahanamoku took that mile-long surf ride on his long board.

You can feel the enchantment of the kapaemahu or "healing stones" left behind by the three Tahitian kahuna. Learn how ingeniously the Hawaiian fisherman configured large acres of fishponds. Modern agriculturalists marvel at the gates designed to let specific-sized fishes into designated areas.

And finally a historian might end the tour with a Hawaiian love song of a particular alii. Come and enjoy this non-commercial (free to the public) outdoor museum. Go to a time when Hawaiians of yesteryear lived. Much can be said for Waikiki and how she has sustained the many changes.

Cha Thompson
Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association

A35: 2004. “Kūhiō Beach Park named for prince who served Hawai‘i.” *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 31, 69.

Kūhiō Beach Park named for prince who served Hawai‘i

Beach profile: Kūhiō Beach Park lies between the Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel and the Kapahulu Groin. Before 1951, the east end of the park was fronted by a shallow reef and was called "Stonewall" for the vertical seawall that supported Kalākaua Avenue. The Waikiki Beach Improvement Project, completed in July 1951, changed the area dramatically.

James W. Glover Ltd. built a large pedestrian promenade into the ocean. Officially known as the Kapahulu Groin, the structure is an extension of a storm drain that runs under Kapahulu Avenue. The project also included building the low retaining wall on the diamondhead side of the groin and hauling in sand to create the beaches on both sides.

Ocean activities: Outrigger canoe paddling, catamaran sailing, snorkeling, surfing, swimming.

What's there: Food concession, picnic tables, equipment rental

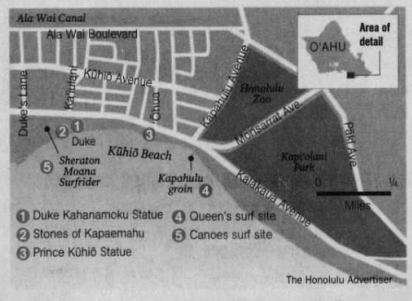
ON THE BEACH

concessions, restrooms, showers

History: Kūhiō Beach Park was named for Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole, the youngest son of Kekaulike Kinoiki II and High Chief David Kahalepouli Pi'ikoi. He was born on March 26, 1871, at Hoai, Kualu, in the Kōloa district of Kaua'i. His mother died soon after his birth. He and his two older brothers were adopted by Kapi'olani, his mother's sister. Kapi'olani and her husband, Kalākaua, had no children, so when Kalākaua became king in 1874, he gave each of the boys the title of prince.

In 1893, a revolution deposed Queen Lili'uokalani, Kalākaua's sister and successor. In 1895, Prince Kūhiō and other royalists joined Robert Wilcox in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Republic of Hawai'i and restore the queen to her throne. Prince Kūhiō served one year in jail as a political prisoner. He was released Oct. 8, 1896, the same day as Queen Lili'uokalani and other royalists who also had been arrested.

In 1902, Prince Kūhiō was elected Hawai'i's second delegate to Congress and served until his death in 1922. He is best remembered for his efforts to help the Hawaiian people, and in 1921 he was successful in obtaining passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, a measure that opened public lands in Hawai'i for homesteading by Native Hawaiians.



Kūhiō Beach Park was the site of Prince Kūhiō's home, Pualeilani, or "flower from the wreath of heaven," where he lived with his wife, Princess Elizabeth Kahanu. On July 22, 1918, he removed the high board fence around his home and opened this section of beach to the public. When he died of heart disease at Pualeilani on Jan. 7, 1922, the property was given to the city. It was officially dedicated as Kūhiō Beach Park in 1940.

Waikiki's two famous surf sites, Queen's and Canoes, are off the west end of the park. Queen's was named for Queen Lili'uokalani, who had a beach home and a pier inshore of the site, and Canoes was named for the outrigger canoes that are still used to surf its waves today. Waikiki's beach boys also teach visitors how to surf at Canoes, one of the best beginner spots in Hawai'i.

Kūhiō Beach Park is the site of three well-known landmarks, the Stones of Kapaemahu (aka "the wizard stones"), the Duke Kahanamoku statue and the Prince Kūhiō statue. The stones represent four legendary men, Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi, who came to Hawai'i from a distant land. They were famous throughout the Islands for their powers of healing and for their great wisdom. The Duke Kahanamoku statue, created by sculptor Jan-Michelle Sawyer, was dedicated on Aug. 24, 1990, the 100th anniversary of the Duke's birth. One of the greatest sports heroes of Hawai'i, Kahanamoku is recognized internationally as the father of modern surfing. The statue of Prince Kūhiō, created by sculptor Sean Browne, was dedicated on Jan. 12, 2002.

In the neighborhood: All of Waikiki.

Source: "Beaches of O'ahu" and "Hawai'i Place Names: Shores, Beaches and Surf Sites," both by John Clark

A36: Burlingame, Burl. 2005. “Duke Kahanamoku honored by statue.” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 18, 94.

Duke Kahanamoku honored by statue

X MARKS THE SPOT

Burl Burlingame

If you're going to create a statue of a Hawaiian legend, make sure you can put leis on it, because people are going to do it. The Waikiki statue of surfing legend Duke Kahanamoku, with arms spread wide welcoming people into the ocean, is a natural lei stand, particularly around his birthday in late August.

Does Duke Paoa Kahanamoku need an introduction? The legendary athlete was born in Waikiki and never moved far — even running a gas station there — but it seemed as though he sprang out of the ocean. The first international swimming star, winning three gold, two silver and one bronze medal in four Olympics before 1922, Kahanamoku was the personification of the Hawaiian culture worldwide.

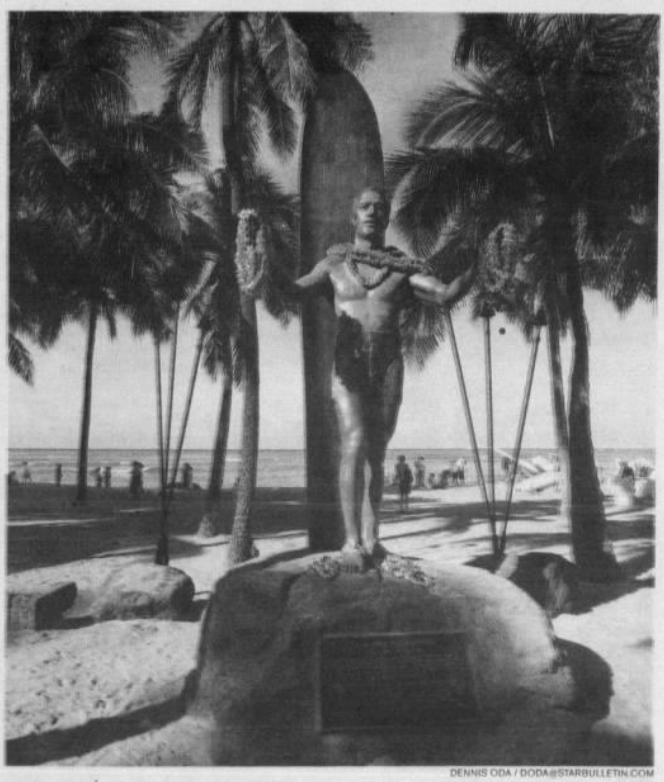
No one did more to make Hawaii real or to introduce surfing to the rest of the globe's beaches.

Naturally, he also became a Hollywood actor, ran for office and served as a lawman.

The statue was dedicated in 1990 on the 100th anniversary of the Duke's birth. It was sculpted by Jan Gordon Fisher — some sources say Jan-Michelle Kaiulani Sawyer, but no — who also created other cool works around town, such as those works of Robert Wilcox and Princess Kaiulani, and that swirly thing in front of Radford High School.

Nearby, in Kuhio Beach Park, are the "Wizard Stones" of Kapaemahu, representing four Hawaiians of legend — Kapaemahu, Kahaloa, Kapuni and Kinohi — healers who came to Hawaii from afar.

"X Marks the Spot" is a weekly feature documenting historic monuments and sites around Oahu. Send suggestions to **xspot@starbulletin.com**



DENNIS ODA / DODA@STARBULLETIN.COM

The Duke Kahanamoku statue in Waikiki was sculpted by Jan Gordon Fisher. It was dedicated in 1990, on the 100th anniversary of Kahanamoku's birth.

A37: 2015. “Kuhio Beach Park.” *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, October 4, G3.

Kuhio Beach Park

Kuhio Beach Park was originally part of Pualeilani (“flower from the wreath of heaven”), the home of Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole and his wife, Princess Elizabeth Kahanu. Kuhio was elected as Hawaii’s second delegate to Congress in 1902, a position he held until his death. He is best known for helping to create and pass the 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, which provides 99-year homestead leases to Native Hawaiians at an annual cost of $1.

In July 1918 Kuhio opened a beautiful beachfront area of Pualeilani to the public, and when he died in January 1922, it was given to the city. Named in honor of the prince, Kuhio Beach Park (situated between the Moana Surfrider and the Kapahulu Groin, a walled storm drain that juts into the ocean) was dedicated in 1940.

Bodyboarders congregate in the ocean fronting the park. Offshore to the west are two famous surfing sites, Queen’s (named after Queen Liliuokalani, Hawaii’s last ruling monarch) and Canoes (referring to the outrigger canoes that still skim the waters of Waikiki today).

Three landmarks are at the park: a statue of Prince Kuhio sculpted by Sean Browne and dedicated Jan. 12, 2002; a statue of Duke Kahanamoku by Jan-Michelle Sawyer dedicated Aug. 24, 1990, the 100th anniversary of the great waterman’s birth; and the Stones of Kapaemahu, also known as the Wizard Stones, which represents four renowned healers — Kahaloa, Kinohi, Kapuni and Kapaemahu — who supposedly came to Hawaii from Tahiti around A.D. 400.

Park facilities include picnic tables, a snack bar, restrooms, outdoor showers and concessions offering surfing lessons, outrigger canoe rides and beach equipment rentals.

Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings, weather permitting, a free torch-lighting ceremony and hula show take place at the Kuhio Beach Hula Mound on Kalakaua Avenue near Uluniu Avenue, diagonally across from the Hyatt Regency Waikiki Beach Resort and Spa, 2424 Kalakaua Ave.

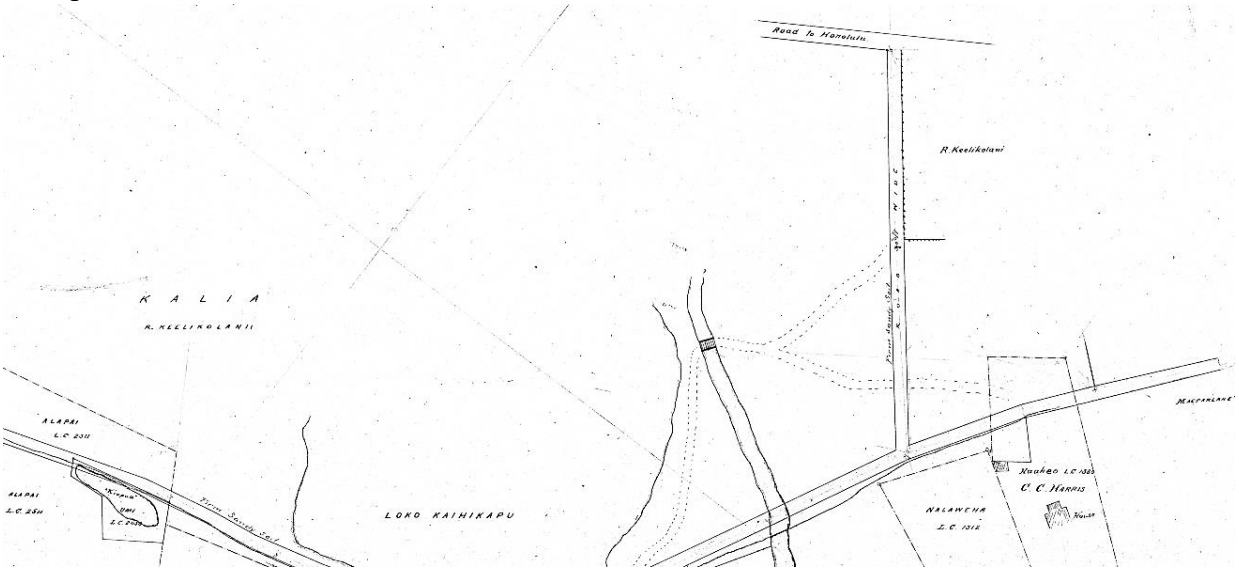
The hourlong program starts at 6:30 p.m. (6 p.m. in November, December and January).

Seating is on the grass (towels, mats and low-rise chairs are allowed). For more information, call 843-8002.

APPENDIX B. Maps of Waikīkī

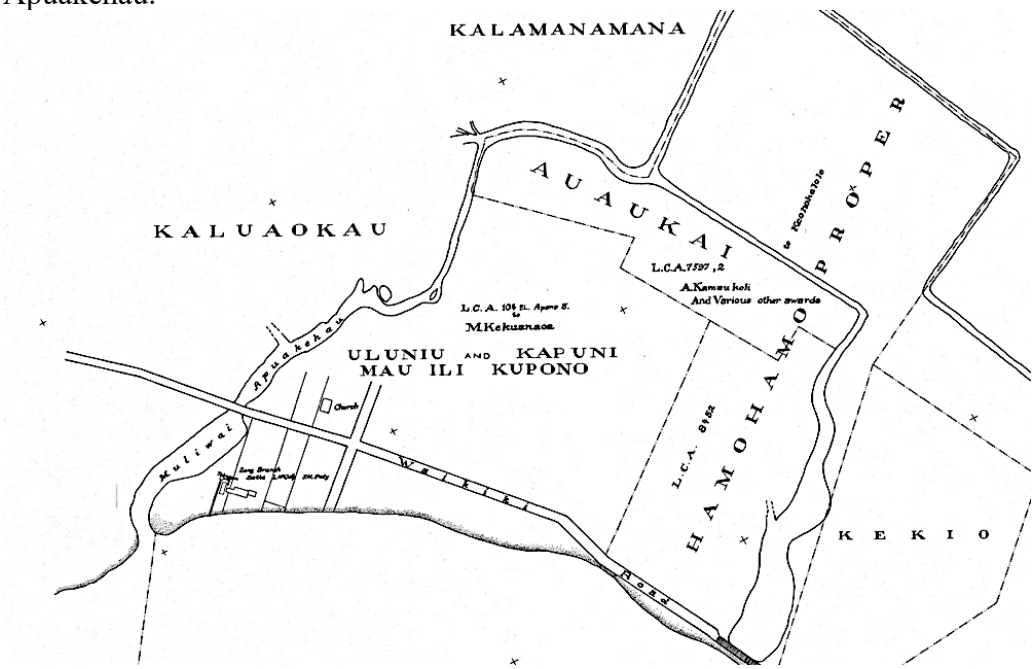
B1: 1879. Portion of “Waikiki Branch Road” Map. Register Map 0301.

This map is the oldest of the property maps. It shows Princess Ruth Keʻelikōlani as the land holder of Kalia (left) as well as the Ulukou portion (right). This map also shows the swell zone of ʻĀpuakēhau stream.



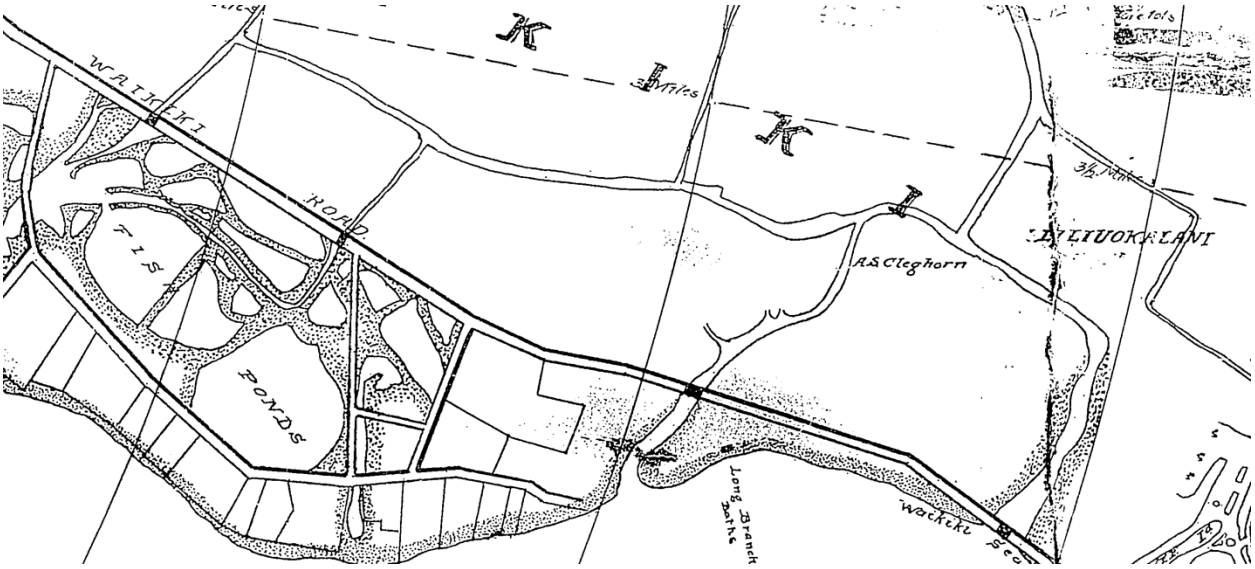
B2: 1889. Portion of Government Map of “Hamohamo Tract.”

This map outlines the Hamohamo fisheries and property. We see the name “Muliwai Apuakehau.”



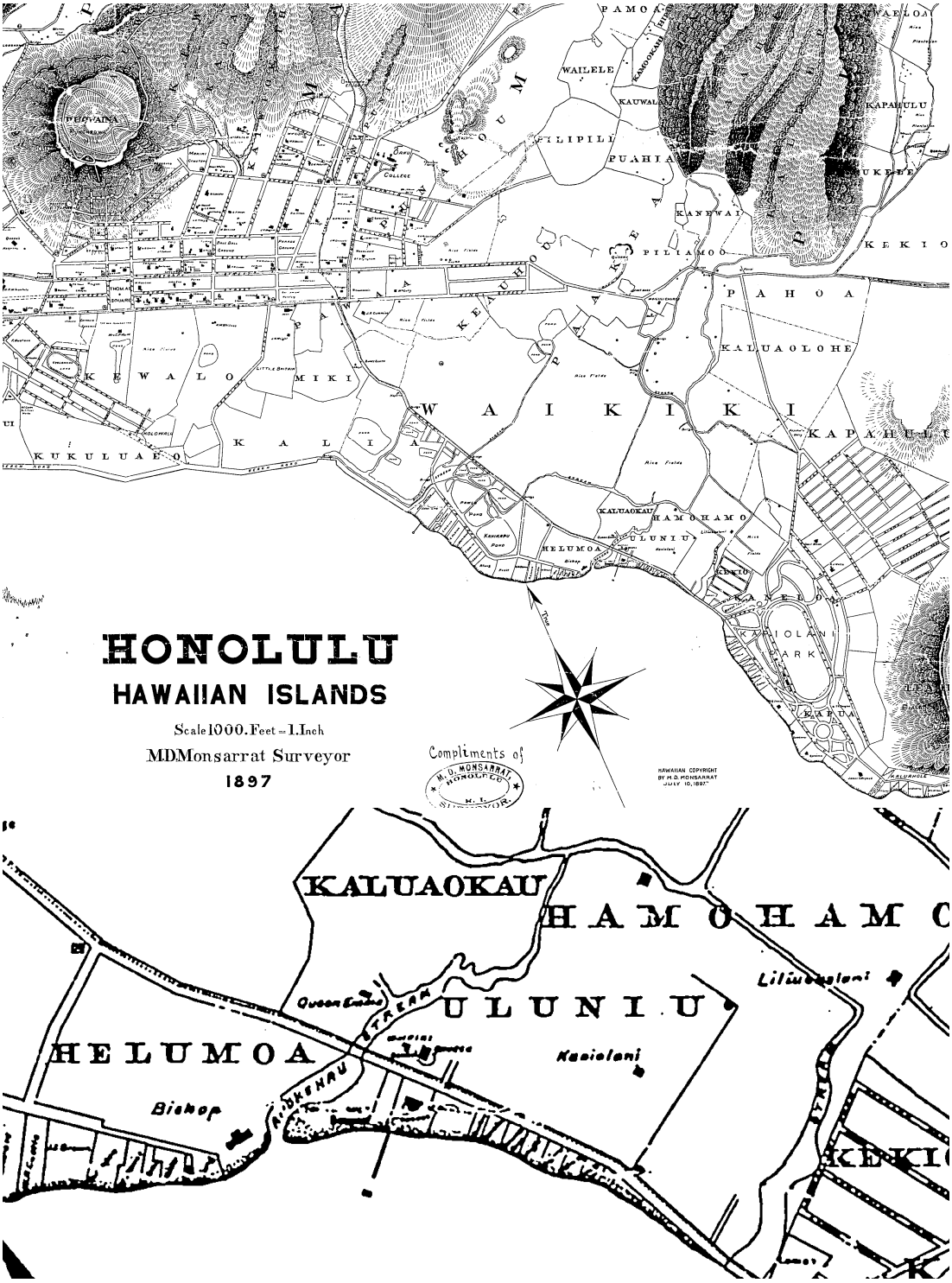
B3: 1892. Portion of “Map of Honolulu.” Register Map 1637.

This map indicates A. S. Cleghorn’s property as well as Queen Lili‘uokalani’s properties in the Hamohamo district.



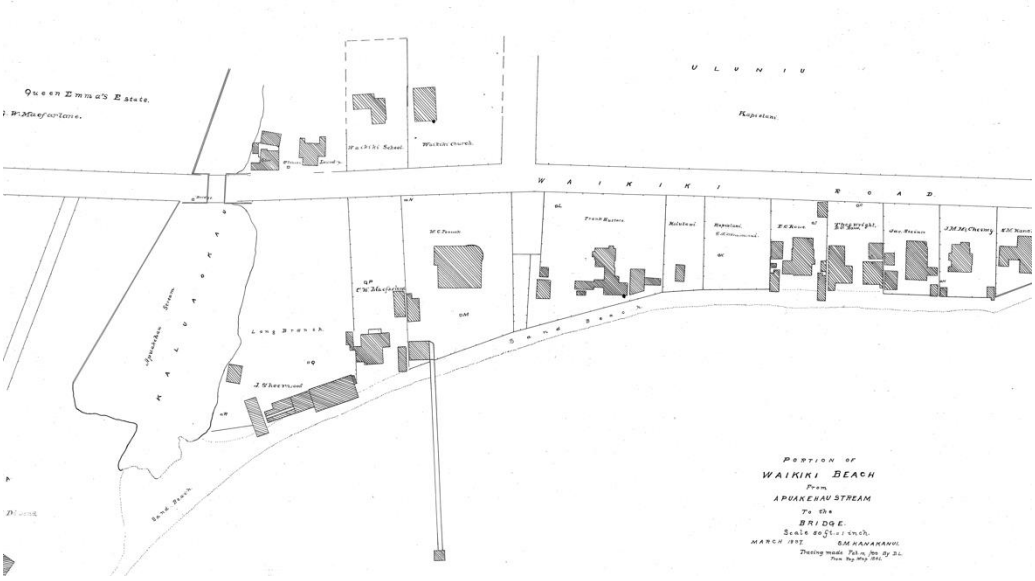
B4: 1897. Portion of "Survey Map of Honolulu Hawaiian Islands." Registered Map 1910.

This map indicates how large the historic Waikīkī plain was while today Waikīkī is mostly used to refer to the strictly coastal areas seawards from the Ala Wai Canal built in the 1920s. Also notice a large black box near where Cleghorn's property was previously indicated.



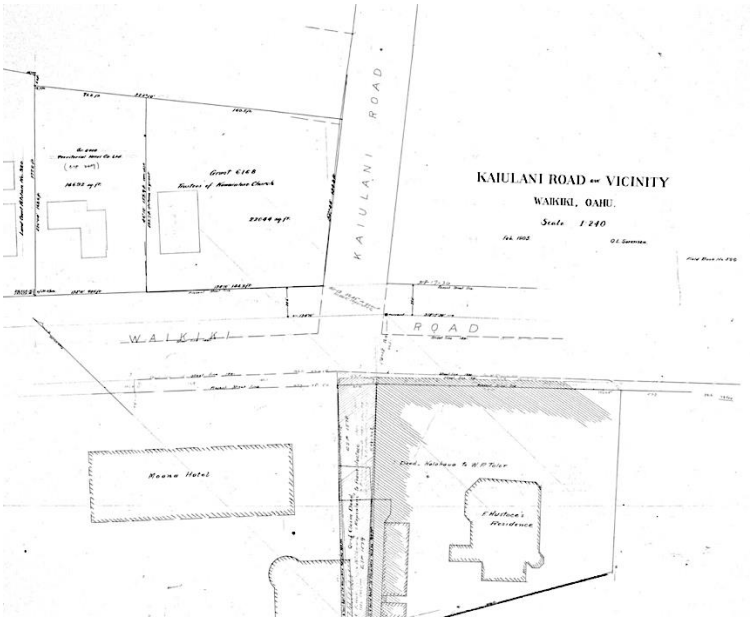
B5: 1897. Portion of Map of "Waikiki Beach from Apuakehau Stream To the Bridge." Register Map 184.

This map shows a beach premise under the owner of Princess Kaʻiulani. It also shows the large swell zone ʻĀpuakēhau stream.

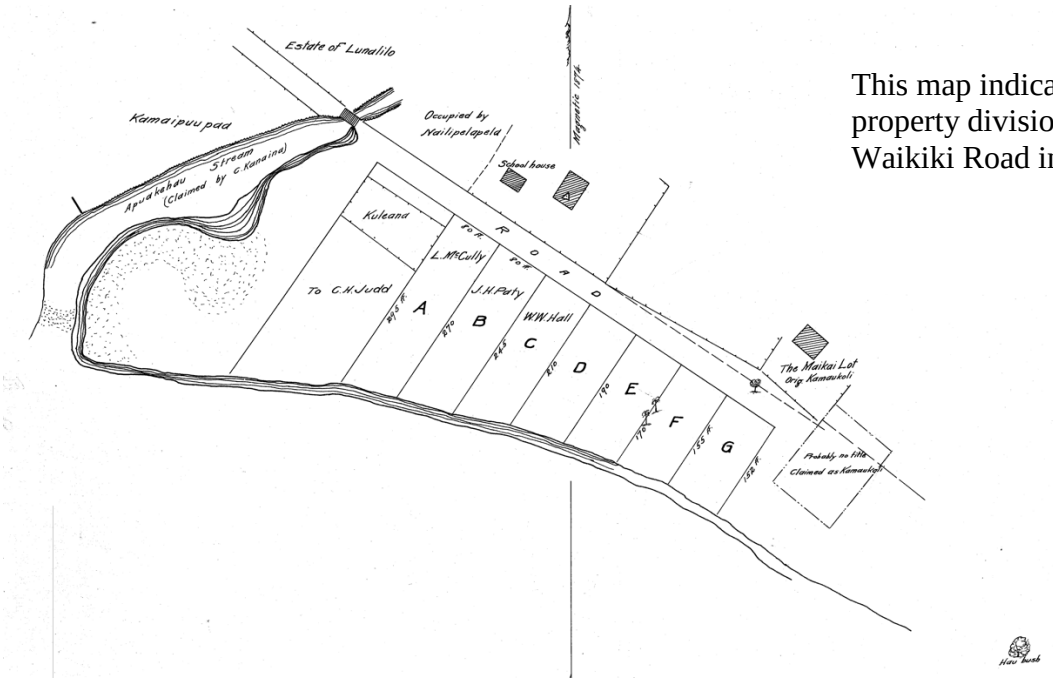


B6: 1905. Portion of "Kaiulani Road and Vicinity, Waikiki Oahu" Map. Registered Map 2287.

This map shows the planned expansion of Kaʻiulani Road and its proximity to the Moana Hotel.



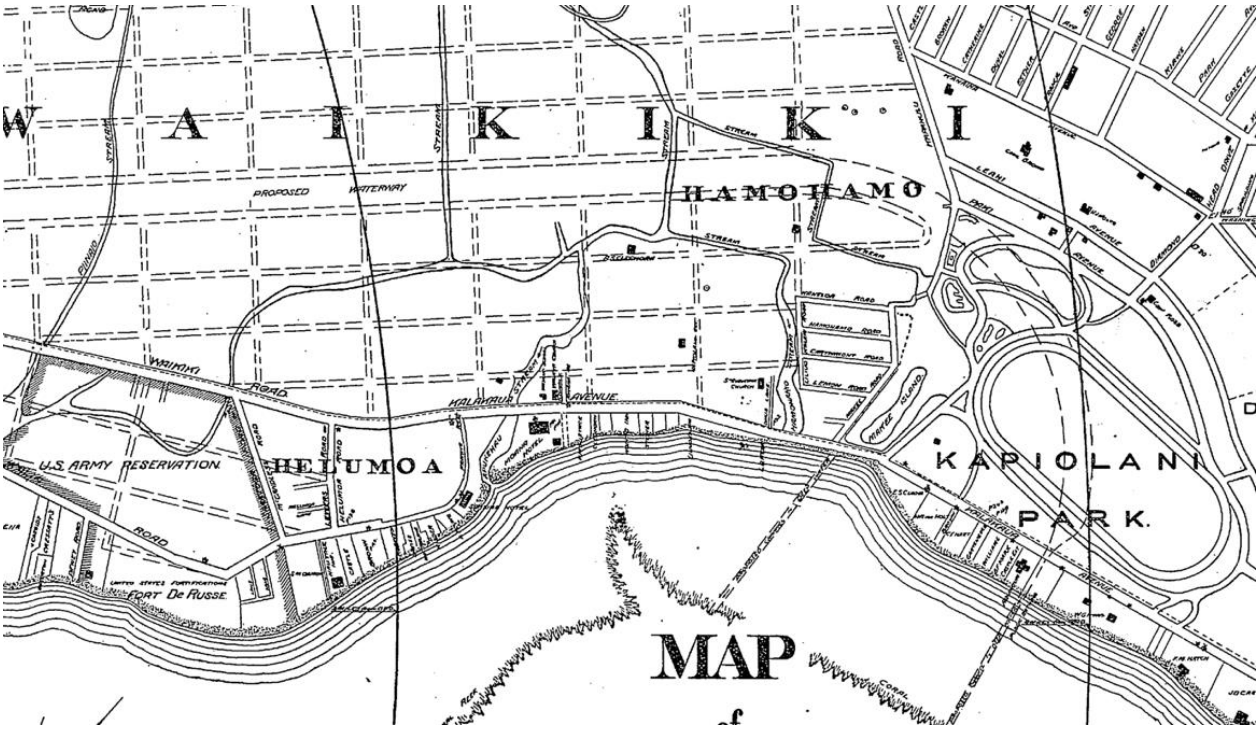
B7: 1905. Portion of "Plan of Lots in Uluniu Waikiki, Estate of Kamehameha V" Map. Register Map 2329.



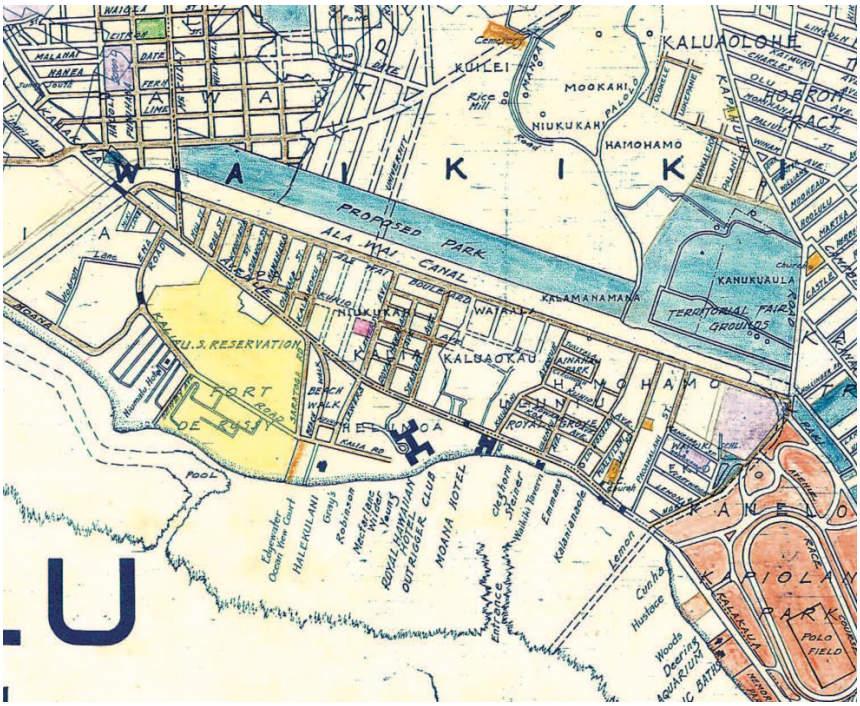
This map indicates property divisions on Waikiki Road in 1905.

B8: 1912. Portion of "Honolulu Map" No. 300.1.

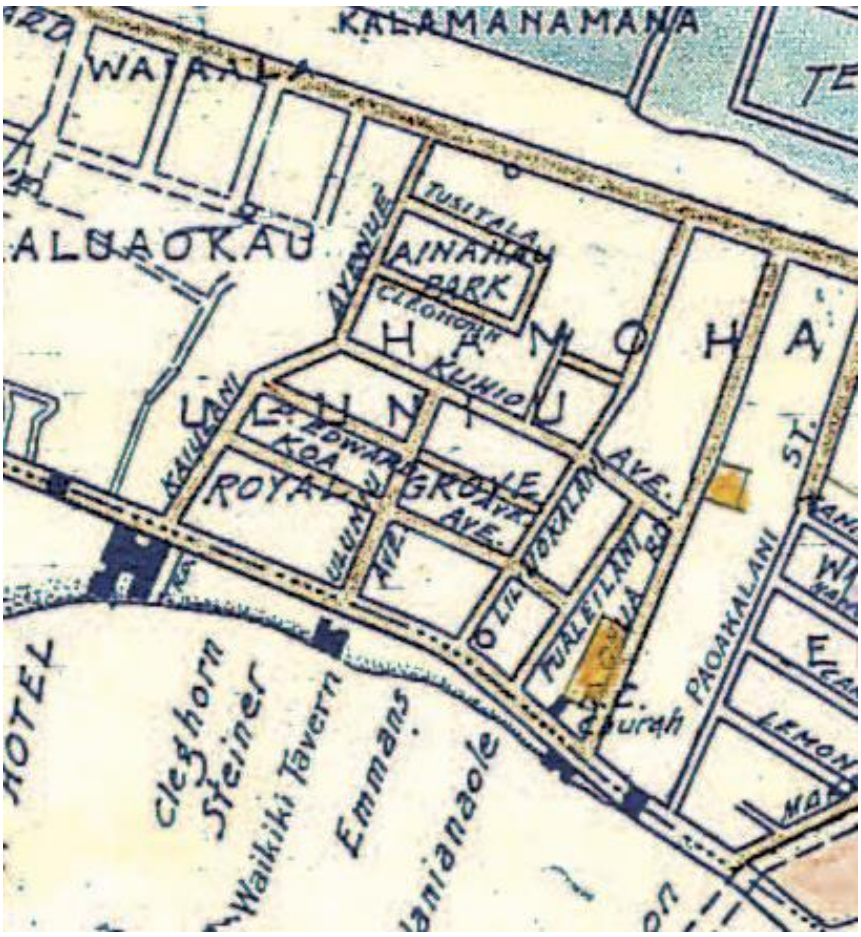
Map shows planned improvements proposed by L. E. Pinkham, including gridded roads and Ala Wai Canal, in dotted lines. Notice large dot indicating the estate mansion of Cleghorn.



B9: n.d. Portion of "Honolulu Territory of Hawaii Taxation Maps."



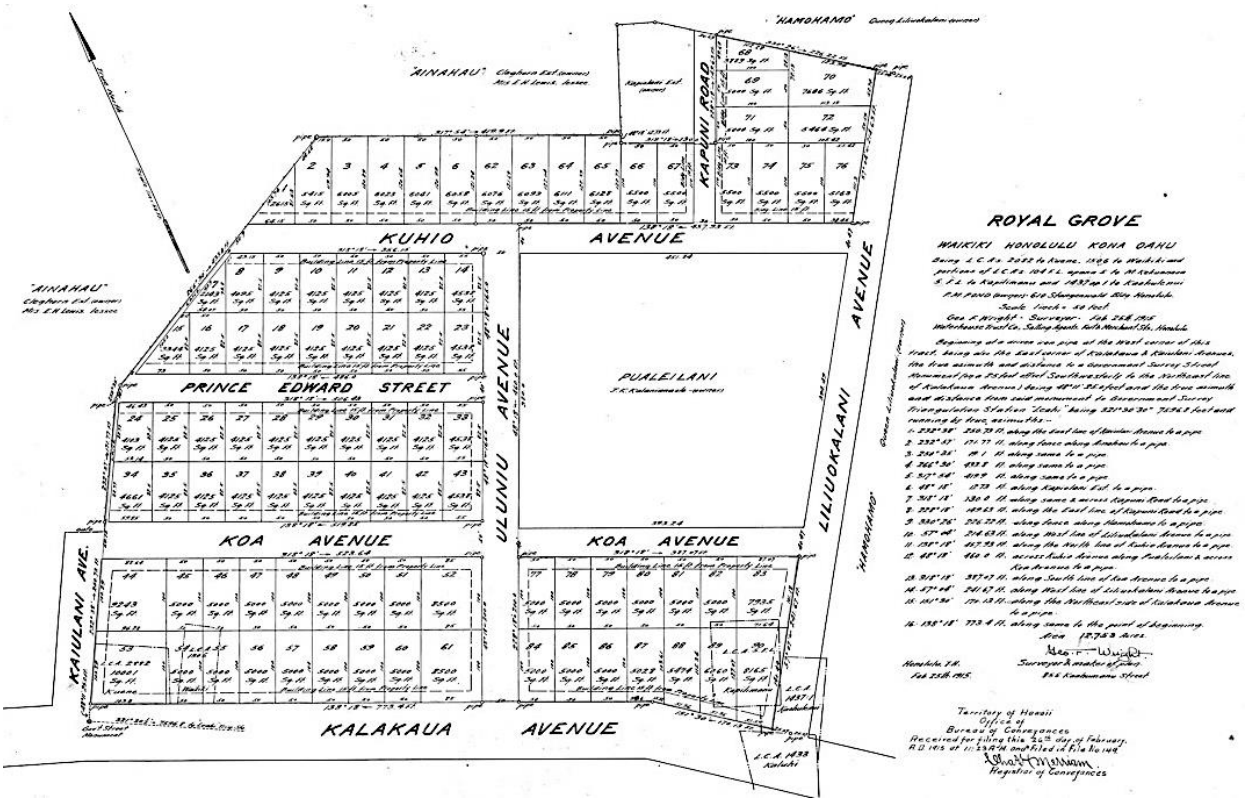
This undated map shows major transformations to Waikīkī and its waterways. It also indicates the lands condemned and reclaimed by the Waikīkī Reclamation Project.



This map also shows the new roads where the Royal Grove Tract was developed, including Cleghorn and Tusitala which boder a block labelled "Ainahau Park." We also see properties labelled Cleghorn, Steiner, and Waikiki Tavern to the right of the Moana Hotel.

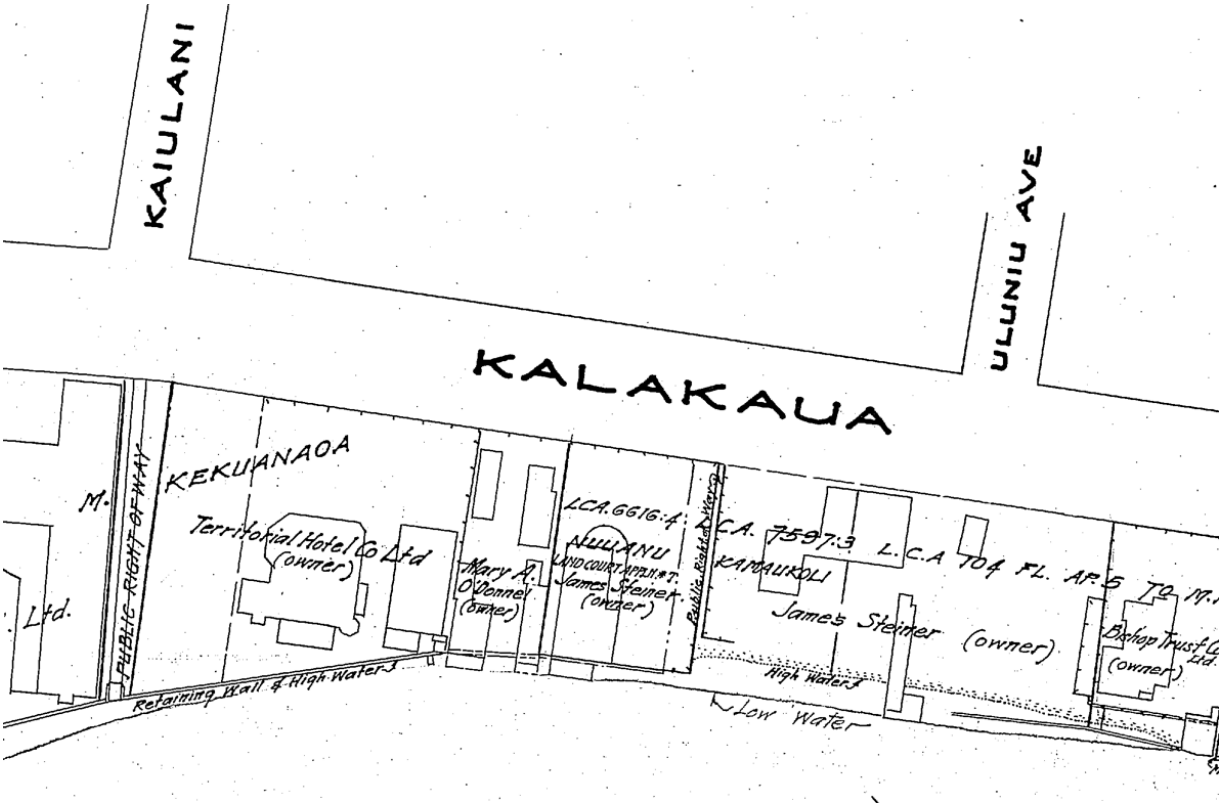
B10: 1915. Portion of Plan for “Royal Grove” Tract. Plan File No. 149.

This map is the development plan proposed in 1915 to subdivide the ʻĀinhau Estate. As the map indicates, the upper right of the “Royal Grove” tract was bordered by Hamohamo and Queen Liluʻokalani’s, and to the left and top of the map were still considered portions of ʻĀinahau.



B11: 1928. Portion of Hawaii Territory Survey of “Waikiki Beach.” Register Map 2800.

This map shows the the Cleghorn beach premise was later owned by Mary O‘Donnell.We also see Ka‘iulani street and the historic properties of James Steiner to which some of the stones had been excavated from.



APPENDIX C. Additional Imagery of Site

C1: 1910. Cleghorn Gardens, Kapaemāhū. Bishop Museum Archives.
A second photo is also present in the Museum Archives with a tool box for scale.

C2: “The Bird of Paradise” Ad (1916, *Goodwin’s Weekly*, December 30).

C3: “Wizard Stones To Go So Waikiki May Bowl” (Hollingsworth 1941; Appendix A7).

LEGENDARY SYMBOLS: Miss La Prele Spencer, manager of the Cleghorn beach apartments, perches between two massive stones dedicated to Tahitian soothsayers of legendary times. The stones, on the Alexander Cleghorn premises in Waikiki are to be removed soon to make way for a bowling alley.—Star-Bulletin photo.

Wizard Stones To Go So Waikiki May Bowl

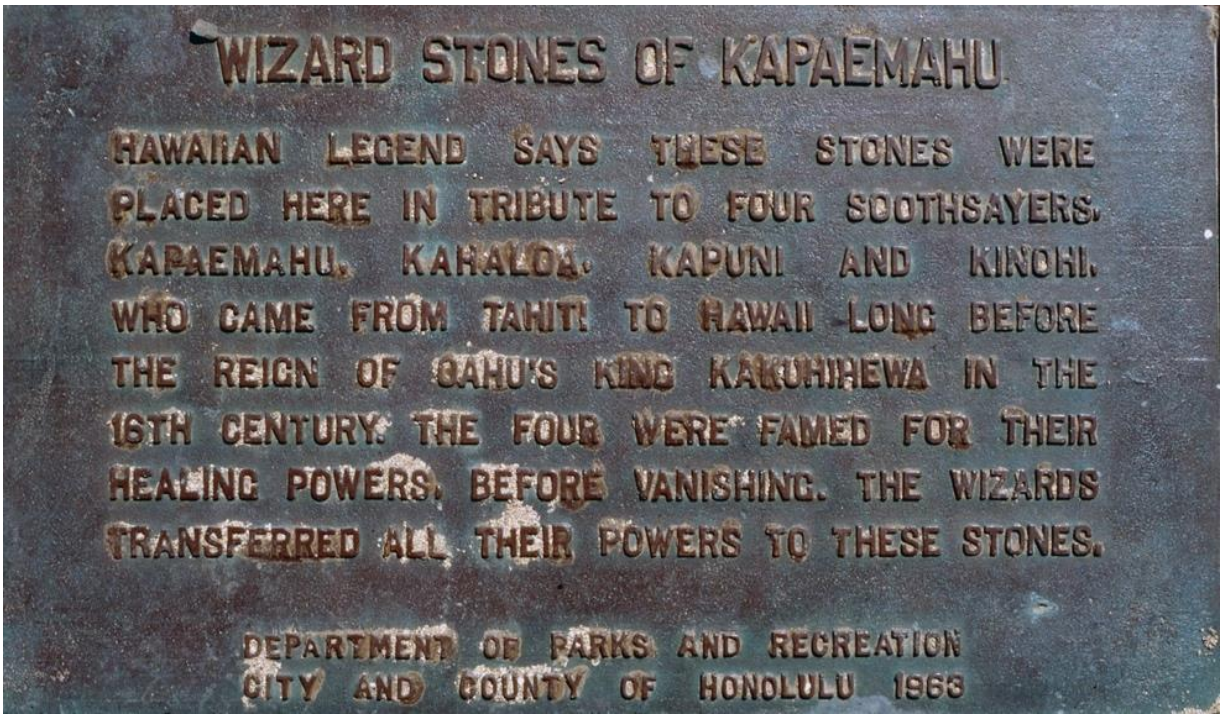
“LEGENDARY SYMBOLS:

Miss La Prele Spencer, manager of the Cleghorn beach apartments, perches between two massive stones dedicated to Tahitian soothsayers of legendary times. The stones, on the Alexander Cleghorn premises in Waikiki are to be removed soon to make way for a bowling alley–Star-Bulletin photo.”

C4: 1960. “Demolition of the Waikīkī Inn and Waikīkī Tavern (Bowling Alley still standing).” Bishop Museum Archives.

C5: 1963. “Plaque Installed on Kapaemāhū.” Bishop Museum Archives.

C6: The old plaque for the Kapaemāhū stones, seen in 1994. Photo by Henry Lawrence.



WIZARD STONES OF KAPAEMAHU

“Hawaiian legend says these stones were placed here in tribute to four soothsayer, Kapaemāhū, Kahaloa, Kapuni, and Kinohi who came from Tahiti to Hawaii long before the reign of Oahu’s King Kakuhihewa in the 16th century. The four were famed for their healing powers before vanishing. The wizards transferred all their powers to these stones.

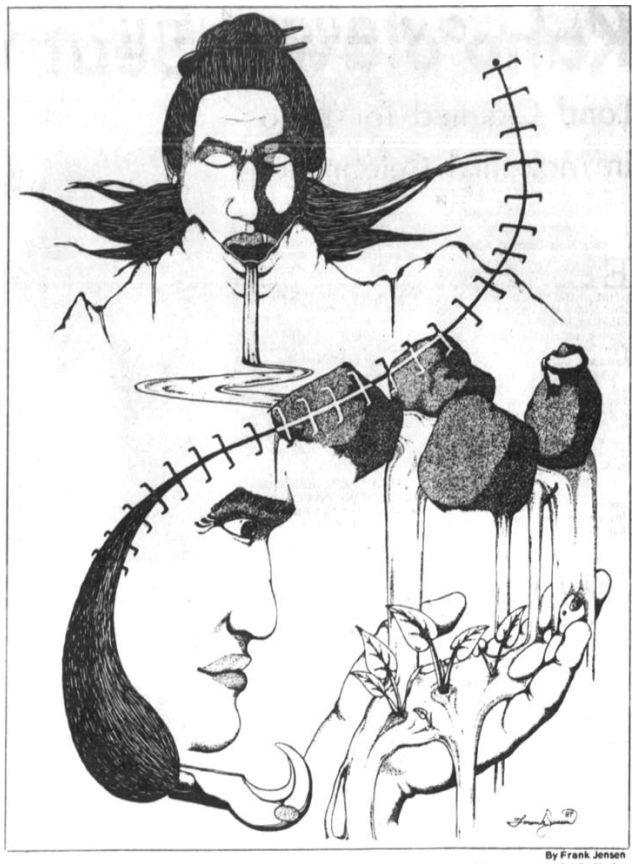
Department of Parks and Recreation
City and County of Honolulu 1963”

C7: “Legendary ‘Wizard Stones’ Are Restored At Waikiki” (1963, *Honolulu Advertiser,* September 8; Appendix A20).

Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui, noted Hawaiiana expert, and Mayor Blaisdell inspect the new plaque marking the Wizard Stones of Kapaemahu.

“Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui, noted Hawaiian expert, and Mayor Blaisdell inspect the new plaque marking the Wizard Stones of Kapaemāhū.”

C8: “WATER OF LIFE,” Illustration by Frank Jensen (Tarallo-Jensen 1987; Appendix A26).



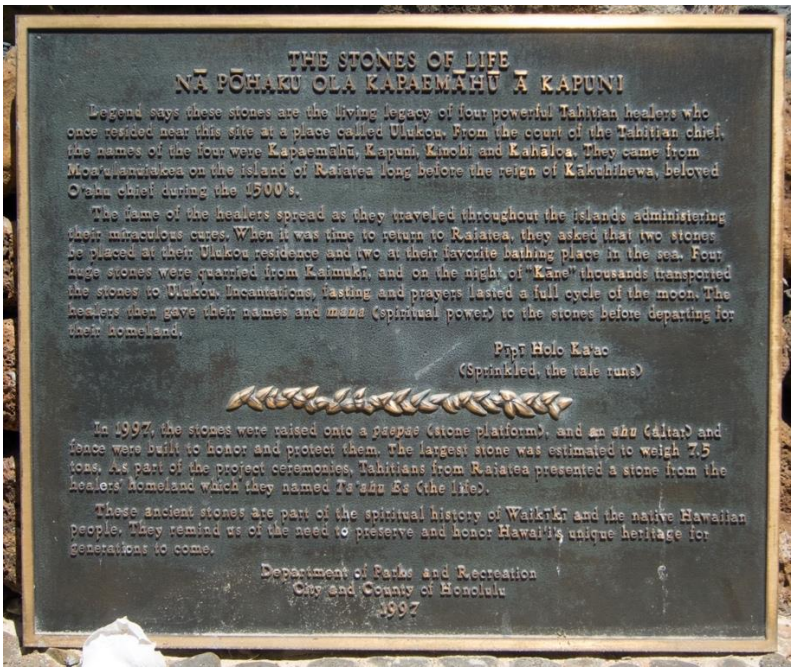
By Frank Jensen

“WATER OF LIFE – Akua Kumupa’a Kane is represented as the ‘giver of the water of life,’ the water that one-time nourished Waikiki. The water filters through the four “wizard stones,” cascading into the land of Kamehameha I…”

C9: The Kapaemāhū stones at Kuhio Beach, seen in 1994. Photo by Henry Lawrence.

C10: The Kapaemāhū stones at Kuhio Beach, seen in 2011. Photo by Henry Lawrence.

C11: The new plaque for the Kapaemāhū stones, seen in 2011. Photo by Henry Lawrence.



THE STONES OF LIFE NĀ PŌHAKU OLA KAPAEMĀHŪ Ā KAPUNI

"Legend says these stones are the living legacy of four powerful Tahitian healers who once resided near this site at a place called Ulukou. From the court of the Tahitian chief, the names of the four were Kapaemāhū, Kapuni, Kinohi, and Kahāloa. They came from Moa'ulanuiakea on the island of Raiatea long before the reign of Kākuhihewa, beloved O'ahu chief during the 1500's. The fame of the healers spread as they traveled throughout the islands administering their miraculous cures. When it was time to return to Raiatea, they asked that two stones be places at their Ulukou residence and two at their favorite bathing place in the sea. Four huge stones were quarried from Kaimukī, and on the nights of "Kāne" thousands transported the stones to Ulukou. Incantation, fasting and prayers lasted a full cycle of the moon. The healers then gave their names and mana (spiritual power) to the stones before departing fro their homeland.

Pīpī Holo Ka'ao (Sprinkled, the tale runs)

In 1997, the stones were raised onto a paepae (stone platform), and an ahu (altar) and fence were built to honor and protest them. The largest stone was estimated to weigh 7.5 tons. As part of the project ceremonies, Tahitians from Raiatea presented a stone from the healers' homeland which they named Ta'ahu Ea (the life). These ancient stones are part of the spiritual history of Waikīkī and the native Hawaiian people. They remind us of the need to preserve and honor Hawai'i's unique heritage for generations to come.

Department of Parks and Recreation City and County of Honolulu 1997"

C12: The Kapaemāhū stones at Kuhio Beach, seen in 2011. Photo by Henry Lawrence.

C13: Ta’ahu Ea, stone brought from Ra’iātea in 1997. 2017. Photo by author.

C14: Nā Pōhaku Ola o Kapaemāhū. 2017. Photo by author.

C15: 2018, May 20. Thirty Children from Opoa, Ra'iātea visit Nā Pōhaku Ola. Photo by author. Faces blurred of most participants to protect anonymity of children and other persons.

APPENDIX D. Select Themes Identified in Newpaper Record

D1: Frequency of "Tahitian" Tahu'a Identification Theme

DATE	Visitors from:	All four names mentioned	Described as: "Wizards"	"soothsayers"	"healers"
1941	*"Tahiti"*	✔	✔	*"Soothsayers"*	*"healers"*
1941	*"Tahitian"*		✔	*"Soothsayers"*	*"healers"*
1941	*"Tahitian"*			*"Soothsayers"*	
1941	*"Tahitian"*			*"Soothsayers"*	
	"Tahiti"			*"Soothsayers"*	
1963	*"Tahiti"*	✔		*"Soothsayers"*	*"Skill in art of healing"*
1966	*"Tahiti"*	✔		*"Soothsayers"*	*"Healing arts"*
1974	*"Tahiti"*	✔		*"Priests"*	*"Power to heal"*
1980	*"Tahitian"*	✔		*"Kahuna"*	*"Healers"*
1980	*"Tahitian"*			*"Holy men"*	
1986	*"Tahiti"*			*"Soothsayers"*	*"Healing powers"*
1987	*"Tahitian"*			*"Kahuna"*	
1995	*"Tahiti"*	✔		*"Kahuna"*	*"Healers"*
1997	*"Tahitian"*				*"Healers"*
1997	*"Moa'ulanuiakea, Society Islands"*	✔			*"Healers"*
1997	*"Tahitian"*	✔			*"Healers"*
1997	*"Tahiti"*	*"Kapaemahu (only)"*		*"Priests." "Soothsayers"*	*"Healers"*
2000	*"Ra'iātea"*		*"Miracles"*		*"Healers"*
2002	*"Tahitian"*			*"Kahuna"*	
2004	*"from a distant land"*				*"Healing," "wisdom"*
	"from afar"	✔			*"Healers"*
2015	*"Tahiti"*	✔			*"Healers"*

D2: Frequency of Gender Theme

DATE	Gender
1941	*"they were unsexed"*
1963	*"they were tall, handsome, kindly and soft-spoken."*
1980	*"Kapaemahu male healer," "Kahaloa and Kinohi female," and Kapuni as "evil male."*
1995	*"four men"*
1997	*"Boyd reports: 'They were unsexed by nature and their habits coincided with their feminine appearance, although manly in stature and general being..' However, a Tahitian priest from Raiatea, who came here for the blessing, said the Healing Stones are divorced from association with homosexuality, according to Kanahele. He said the name Kapaemahu reflects that. 'Kapae' means 'to set aside'; 'mahu' means 'homosexual desire' The healers, therefore, were required to cleanse themselves of any sexual thoughts when engaged in healing"*
2004	*"four legendary men"*

D3: Frequency of Human Sacrifice Theme

DATE	Human sacrifice
1905	*"The remains of a skeleton were found buried beneath the great rock. But few bones had been left by Time." "There was a jawbone with all the teeth intact and perfect...it is the opinion of Mr. Cleghorn that the young woman was the victim of a sacrificial rite."*
1905	*"sacrificial stone"*
1905	✔
1941	*"remains"*
1941	*"Virgin chiefess"*
1963	*"A virgin chiefess was sacrificed and her body placed beneath the stone"*

D4: Frequency of “Loss” and “Disrespect” Theme

DATE	Lost /found / forgotten	Theme of disrespect
1905	*"Sacrificial stones, the history of which is too remote even for the oldest Hawaiian inhabitant here to determine..."*	—
1941	—	*"who will come to their aid?"*
1941	*"the presence of the historic rocks is not generally known"*	✔
1963	*"The stones were unearthed when restoration of the beach area, the former Cleghorn property, began late last year. The largest, weighing about eight tones, was discovered when the Waikiki Bowl building was demolished"*	—
1966	*"forgotten until the Waikiki building for bowling was torn down"* *"the rocks made the news and their legendary past was rediscovered"*	*"Sometimes bikini-clad sunbathers perch on the Wizard stones without even bothering to read the plaque that describes their legendary past"*
1980	—	*"Hawaiian traditionalists are irate about the handling of four boulders...* *“if you have a set of stones, where they are and their relation to each other is important. The city told me they would take care of the stones, but this doesn't suggest that"*
1980	*"...and that they were "re-discovered" when the old building that had been used for bowling in Waikiki was torn down.; and that city officials at the time doubtless decided to keep them at the site not only because of their fabled mana, but also because Gov. A S Cleghorn's will, drawn up around 1910, specified that they be kept there and not defaced"*	—
1995	*“Unthinking people say, “oh, they are only big rocks." But modern society has a profound propensity for grinding down that big rocks of our past, no matter how significant they once were.”*	*"these stones are simply part of the landscape, a bench to sit upon, a backrest, a cranny for hiding beach trash. And yet they are not quite forgotten"*
1997	*"But in the centuries since, the boulders have been chipped, broken and buried...”*	*"Gone are the days of tourists draping wet towels over the stones. No more standing of jumping or sleeping on them. No more fast-food lunches spread across them like picnics"* *"Lack of understand has been part of the problem...People see the stones and they just don’t realize they are something sacred"*
1997	*“Like much of that culture, they had been pushed aside, as modern Hawaii evolved. As construction reshaped the old Waikiki marshes, the healing stones were literally buried – under a bowling alley, of all things”*	*"...Treated with respect– not as handy backrests for tired pedestrians– the stones can stand as a reminder of a time when these Islands were something other than a tourist destination"*

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Images

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———. The Kapaemāhū stones at Kuhio Beach, seen in 2011. Reproduced with permission. (Appendix C10).

———. The new plaque for the Kapaemāhū stones, seen in 2011. Reproduced with permission. (Appendix C12).

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